Workers, Oppressed Nations and People of the World,

UNITE!

Marxist-Leninist
Organizing Committee
BOX 26457, S.F., CA 94126 USA

Vol.2, No.5, October-November 1976 50¢

MASSES OF THE WORLD MOURN THE DEATH OF MAO TSETUNG, GREATEST MARXIST-LENINIST OF THE CONTEMPORARY ERA.

To train hundreds of millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, to follow in the footsteps of the immortal Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin: This was the legacy of our beloved Mao Tsetung, who died on September 9, 1976. His was a life of complete dedication and service to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people and the cause of communism.

In the revolutionary working-class tradition which commemorated Lenin, workers and progressive people from all walks of life held memorial services in New York, San Francisco, Washington D.C., Pittsburgh, Los Angeles, Seattle, Chicago, and other cities throughout the United States.

This issue of UNITE! is dedicated to the life and work of Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary era. In this issue we are publishing excerpts from the Memorial Speech by Hua Kuo-feng, First Vice Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council at the mass memorial meeting for Mao Tsetung held in Tien An Men Square on September 18, 1976. In addition we are publishing excerpts from IN COMMEMORATION OF MAO TSETUNG, a commemorative pamphlet issued by the Central Committee of the MLOC, which is available by request.

The sorrow we feel at the death of Mao Tsetung must be turned into a resolute vow to become successors to the revolution, to follow in the footsteps of this great proletarian leader.

Mao Tsetung will always serve as a brilliant example of the correct integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution. Though we mourn the death of Mao Tsetung, we are moved by his life.

ETERNAL GLORY TO MAO TSETUNG!

ETERNAL GLORY TO MAO TSETUNG!

The life of Comrade Mao Tsetung was one of those few events which have helped shape the course of world history. The death of Mao Tsetung is a very heavy loss to the people of China, the people of the United States, and the people of the entire world.

The life and work of Mao Tsetung will forever shine as a never setting sun, not only upon the people of China, but the exploited and oppressed people of the entire world.

The weight of the death of Mao Tsetung to the workers and peasants of the world, from the poorest rural fields in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to the biggest industrial plants in the capitalist world, is a heavy burden or sorrow. In both the socialist and capitalist countries, Mao Tsetung had become a friend, an inspiration, and a comrade who could always navigate a firm course through troubled waters for the international proletariat, against the most relentless enemies. Today the East is Red because of great socialist China, led by Comrade Mao Tsetung.

On September 9, 1976, Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Honorary Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, died in Peking.

It is hard to realize that the greatest Marxist of the contemporary period, the staunchest fighter against feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism, U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, colonialism, modern revisionism and the two Superpowers, is no longer in the lead. Mao Tsetung was the genuine successor to the historic tasks laid before the people of the world by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Mao Tsetung has given this sword the cutting edge we need today to overcome every obstacle, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat worldwide, and advance toward communism. This is the path toward which Mao Tsetung pointed us every breathing day of his life, and this is the path we must be resolutely committed to follow.

How did Mao Tsetung, who was of peasant origins, reared in the valleys of Shaoshan, Hunan Province, rise up with his fellow peasants and workers to lead the greatest revolution of the Twentieth Century-after the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia?

Cont. p. 8

Elections p.3 **PWOC** p.12
Miners' Wildcat p.6 **Azania** p.14

EDITORIALS

CELEBRATE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTIONS!

To workers and oppressed people all over the world, October is a month to celebrate the great traditions of the October Revolutions, 1917 in the Soviet Union, and 1949 in the People's Republic of China. These dates mark the two greatest struggles and events of the twentieth century, in which the working class and peasants of these countries stood up to capitalism and imperialism and forged an entirely new course in world history, the period in which history is made consciously by the vast majority, the era of proletariat revolution.

As the MLOC carries out programs in numerous parts of the country to uphold the great tradition of the October Revolutions, we are deeply saddened by the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung on September 9, 1976. It was Mao Tsetung, more than any other who carried forward the cause that Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin gave their entire life to, the cause of the emancipation of the people of the world and communism.

While we celebrate the October Revolutions, we also recognize as Karl Marx said in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, that "the workingmen have no country." Only the international struggle of the working class can preserve what has been already won, and guarantee future victories. That is why, while we speak of the enormous achievements of the October Revolutions, what we must focus our attention on is the unfinished business of the proletariat. This is the way to carry forward the cause of the October Revolutions.

Therefore we call upon workers across this country to step up the struggle to:

Force US diplomatic recognition of the People's Republic of China,

Implement the Shanghai Accords,

Force US imperialism out of Taiwan.

At the same time, our support for the genuine socialist countries requires that we struggle not only for the recognition of the People's Republic of China, but that the US Government:

Establish diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania,

Establish diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Establish diplomatic relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

To recognize that "workingmen have no country" is to take the stand of *PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM*. Concretely, this means that we must:

INTENSIFY OUR SUPPORT FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT WHERE IT EXISTS, FOR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION.

INTENSIFY OUR SUPPORT FOR ALL NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WHICH WEAKEN IMPERIALISM.

INTENSIFY OUR EXPOSURE AND OPPOSITION TO SUPERPOWER WAR PREPARATIONS: PREPARE TO TURN AN IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR

INTENSIFY OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U. S. BOURGEOISIE; PREPARE THE ROAD TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT; SUPPORT THE DEEPENING STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST CAPITAL, THE RIGHT OF THE BLACK NATION TO SELF DETERMINATION UP TO AND INCLUDING SECESSION, THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF ALL OPPRESSED MINORITIES, AND THE JUST STRUGGLE OF WORKING WOMEN AGAINST DOUBLE AND TRIPLE OPPRESSION.

Today, the key link in the revolutionary chain of the party, the united front and the armed struggle, is the forging of a vanguard communist party. Without a vanguard communist party, we cannot carry out our internationalist duty.

"No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations", stated Karl Marx. The emancipation of the U.S. working class cannot be achieved without the emancipation of all oppressed nations everywhere. That is why we must grasp firmly the nature of the four main contradictions in the world and concretely define the tasks of proletarian internationalism.

This October we hold aloft the great history of the working class and dedicate ourselves resolutely to the tasks that lie before us.

WORKERS, OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

WE HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT OUR CHAINS!

TAKE UP STUDY TO ARM THE MASSES!

Two publications are now available for study by Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers in the United States. The first pamphlet, A BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, is essential to study for the application of its lessons in our struggle to forge a vanguard communist party to lead the working-class struggle. The second pamphlet, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS, is a reprint of the Resolution adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 which was developed to arm the proletariat of the world with a correct presentation of the Marxist-Leninist principles and attitudes toward war and revolution and to defeat the existing opportunist lines on this strategic question.

In 1974 the "Basic Understanding of the Party" Editorial Group in Shanghai, People's Republic of China issued a new handbook, which was published by the People's Publishing House. Now, thanks to the work of the Nouveau Bureau d'Edition in Paris, France, who published the book in French as translated by Danielle Bergeron, and subsequently the Norman Bethune Institute the book is now available in English.

The Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted at the Tenth National Congress in 1973, and references were added to the French edition in order to aid readers outside of the People's Republic of China.

The basic thrust of the book is to show how the character of the party, its guiding thought, programme, line and principles, such as centralized leadership, democratic centralism, party discipline, styles of work, etc., are derived from the basic nature of the proletariat.

Written at a time when the Soviet Union was the only socialist country and fascism was on the rise throughout the world, the lessons contained within THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS supply a basic guideline for the application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete situation of today.

With the increasing contention between the two Superpowers, a firm grasp of the essential questions of communist leadership of the masses either to prevent imperialist war or to turn imperialist war into civil war is an absolute necessity.

We urge all communists and advanced workers to obtain copies of these two important contributions from the international experience of the proletariat and to take up thorough study and discussion of these two vital questions so as to educate and mobilize the masses for the building of the party against imperialist war preparations.

A BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA can be ordered from National Publications Center, Box 727, Adelaide Station, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS was reprinted by the MLOC and can be ordered from P.O. Box 26457, S.F., Calif. 94126 for $1.50. Please, postal money orders only to MLOC, for your own security.

To Our Readers

The MLOC will soon be looking to publish UNITE! on a more regular basis in order to better fulfill the task of fusing the workers' and communist movements. However, through our own practice we have come to see that without the agitation and propaganda material that we develop being more and more closely linked with the struggles of the working class and national minorities throughout the country, it cannot really meet the needs in any particular local situation. For this reason we are issuing a call to all Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers to support and contribute to the building of UNITE! into a political organ which more and more concretely meets the needs of the revolutionary struggle.

By support we mean first and foremost the use of the paper in plants, workplaces and mass organizations as a vehicle for winning the advanced to communism, to the leading role of Marxism-Leninism. Secondly, we mean submitting comradely criticism as to the development of the paper, to take the line and policy expressed in its pages to the working class if you see that they are the most relatively correct political line on those questions dealt with, or that the articles can help move forward the revolutionary struggle in your area, and responding when the line needs development and improvement. In other words, the MLOC does not see the political views expressed here as "our property" but as belonging to the working class in class struggle. In order for the line to be developed in the most all-around way, the more that it is applied and developed through practice the more it will meet the needs of the revolutionary movement. Thirdly, we are appealing for any and all financial support that comrades can make available for the further development of the MLOC's capacity to put forward better quality agitation and propaganda. We see no reason in principle for there to be a separation between giving political support to the line and giving material support for the propagation of that line to the broadest masses possible. We uphold the principle of responding to any and all honest correspondence.

Send all suggestions, criticisms, contributions and/or financial support to MLOC, Box 26457, San Francisco, California 94126.

Coming Next Issue

In the next issue of UNITE! we will have a full analysis of the recent United Steel Workers Convention in Las Vegas, reviewing the final term of I. W. Abel, and the struggle for rank-and-file democracy within the USWA.

We will also have a full position on the question of busing and equality in education; its role in the struggle for democratic rights and the relationship of struggles in the North to the right of self-determination of the Black Nation in the Black Belt South.

SUBSCRIBE!

UNITE! is the political organ of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee, published bimonthly.

One year: $7.00

Name_____

Address_____

_____

UNITE!, PO BOX 26457,
San Francisco, CA 94126

CONTENTS

Editorials	p. 2	Losovsky on the trade unions	p. 10
Elections	p. 3	Key Link	p. 11
CPUSA/SWP	p. 4	PWOC	p. 12
Miners Wildcat	p. 6	Lynching in the Black Belt South	p. 13
UMW Convention	p. 7	Azania	p. 14
Auto Strike	p. 7	ALSC	p. 14
Commemoration to Mao Tsetung	p. 8	Revisionist Conference	p. 15
Eulogy to Mao Tsetung	p. 9		

Support Working Class Boycott OF Bourgeois Elections!

INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE!

"The show is about to begin." These words started the TV "debate" between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. And that's just what it was - a show. The rulers of Rome used to use circuses when they couldn't provide the bread, in order to divert the attention of the masses away from their miserable conditions. Like the "Great Debates" of 1960, between Kennedy and Nixon, the 1976 presidential debates come at a time of unprecedented withdrawal of the people from the electoral arena. But the growing refusal to vote is not a sign of "apathy", as the bourgeois commentators claim, it does not mean the population has gone soft and complacent. The working class and other working people are breaking with bourgeois politicians, are seeing through the sham of bourgeois elections; they are learning the lesson of the old proverb: "the more it changes, the more it remains the same." Workers are asking, "Why bother to vote? What difference does it make?" Many are saying things like "I wouldn't put either one of those guys in there", and "it doesn"t matter who wins the election, the people always lose."

Many workers do still vote, despite the demoralization and cynicism resulting from so many discouraging experiences at the polls - no one forces them to it. This is clear evidence of the need and desire of the working class for democratic control of society. But more and more are coming to the realization that democratic control won't be achieved through the ballot box. That's why the debates are being put on: the capitalists need to restore the interest and the faith of the masses in bourgeois elections. The very course of development of capitalist society is exposing the irrational, greedy and brutal nature of capitalism and giving rise to greater resistance on the part of the working class to the conditions forced on it. The same process is undermining the illusion that democracy can function in a society based on exploitation. And the capitalists must maintain the democratic illusion if they are to avoid a direct confrontation with the working class. The debates are simply an attempt to draw the masses back into the electoral arena, an attempt to magnify the insignificant differences between the two candidates into the appearance of real alternatives. *The debates are also aimed at the rest of the world, an attempt to show the world that, despite the reverses that US imperialism has sustained around the world, despite all the crises in US society, that "American Democracy" still functions, that the imperialist bourgeoisie is still capable of ruling in the old way.*

The situation reflected in this election and in the need for the debate circus is the result of the deepening General Crisis of capitalism. Imperialism is experiencing an *absolute* shrinkage of markets and sources of raw materials under the blows of the struggles of the Third World for liberation from imperialist exploitation and domination. The US imperialists' *relative* share in what's left to the world system of imperialism is being eaten into by increasing competition from the other imperialist countries (western Europe and Japan). The emergence of Soviet social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds) has brought an ever-intensifying struggle between the two superpowers (US and USSR) to redivide the spoils of imperialism, and this is leading step by step right up to a new world war.

The General Crisis of capitalism represents an all-around crisis for the US bourgeoisie (as for the bourgeoisie of other countries) in the economic, political, military, cultural and ideological spheres. This crisis is reflected in the military defeats for US imperialism in Indochina, its political defeats in the UN, the decline of the US dollar worldwide, the domestic economic crisis (stagnation, inflation, unemployment, etc.), the constitutional/political crisis of Watergate and impeachment, and so on. In fact, the only significant "difference" that Carter represents is directly due to the General Crisis: he is from the South.

The economic losses that US imperialism has suffered around the world require the imperialists to intensify their exploitation of the oppressed nations within the US, and in particular the Black Nation in the Black Belt South. The capitalists have stepped up their investment in the South in recent years, but now they need to make a "great leap" in their exploitation of the resources, industrial potential, and labor-power of the Black Nation. Carter, with his connections with Southern capital and landed interests and his familiarity with the social climate of the South, can be a decisive factor in that process, and therefore, is very useful to the imperialists right now.

Imperialism can only resolve its deep and worldwide economic crisis by a new world war of redivision. This war can only be a temporary "resolution" to a crisis that is caused by contradictions that are inherent in capitalism itself, and the preparations for war require the bourgeoisie to clear the deck at home. All "labor unrest" must be quelled, all political dissent must be stifled, productivity must be jacked up by tightening up on "labor discipline", the working class must be made to "absorb the losses" of the crisis, the masses' attention must be diverted from the class enemy and consumed in endless contradictions among the masses (busing, seniority, and other questions that are used to antagonize national divisions within the working class). And in this is contained the kernels of fascism. The imperialists must move to the fascist form of rule in order to attempt a military "resolution" of the crisis. At the same time, Watergate, the whole Nixon regime, the farce of the impeachment proceedings, and now the FBI/CIA exposures, have dealt smashing blows to the faith of the masses in bourgeois democracy and represent the increasing inability of the bourgeoisie to rule in the old way.

The issue is not who will be President, or which party of the capitalists will have a chance to put its policies into effect. The debates show this because they are not able to clarify the "issues" or draw out the "differences" between the candidates.

The real issue is not who shall run the government, but whether the capitalists shall continue to rule.

To understand the role of elections in capitalist society we have to start with the question of the state and the relationship of democracy to the state.

The state - the institutions that together we call the state: the bureaucracy, the police, courts, prisons, standing army, parliamentary bodies - is an instrument of violence, a machine whereby one class holds another class in subjugation. The state is a product of class society. The development of society to the point where it is divided up into antagonistic classes made the state necessary, and by the same token, the state cannot exist in a society without class divisions. Lenin summed up this connection between class society and the state:

> "History shows that the state as a special apparatus for coercing people arose only wherever and whenever there appeared a division of society into classes, that is, a division into groups of people some of whom are permanently in a position to appropriate the labour of others, where some people exploit others...
>
> And this division of society into classes must always be clearly borne in mine as a fundamental fact of history." (THE STATE, p.7-8, FLP)

The necessity of the state in class society arises because "It is impossible to compel the greater part of society to work systematically for the other part of society without a permanent apparatus of coercion " (Ibid, p. 12).

All states, without exception, have this element, this means of enforcing the rule of the dominant class. Assemblies, parliaments, congresses, and other democratic institutions may or may not be present. Parliaments come and go, but armies remain. This is why the working class cannot win power through parliamentary means alone...or even primarily. Congress is not there to give the oppressed class a chance to vote its way into power; it is an institution for democracy *within* the ruling class, and to provide a facade of popular democracy. *Between the classes there is no democracy - only class struggle.* The military and the bureaucratic apparatus are the main instruments of the rule of capital, but Congress is also part of that machinery of oppression.

The question of the state is not a question of the form of government or of the persons or parties in control of the government. The essence of the state is the question of which class rules, not how it rules. The capitalist state has many forms. The bourgeoisie can rule through a constitutional monarchy (as in England or Holland), through various forms of more or less democratic republics (as in the US or France), or through fascist dictatorship (as in Taiwan, South Korea, Nazi Germany). But the essence remains the same: the modern state is the dictatorship of the capitalist class over the proletariat and other working people.

This does not mean that the form of rule doesn't matter; it does matter, both to the bourgeoisie and to the proletariat.

Historically, the bourgeoisie promoted the struggle for democracy as part of its struggle against the previous ruling class, the feudal landed aristocracy. The capitalists needed a political system that reflected and served the economic relationships that were coming into being along with the capitalist mode of production. They needed a social system where people were formally free to buy and sell their commodities and their labor-power, without the restrictions of permanent personal obligations that existed between serfs and lords. Democratic liberties and personal freedom were necessary to the bourgeoisie in order to fully exploit the markets of the world, the resources of the country, and the labor of the people. The democratic republic served the bourgeoisie also as a means of gathering the support of the laboring masses in the struggle against the feudal aristocracy.

At the same time, the establishment of bourgeois democracy and the democratic republic have been of great benefit to the working class. Personal freedom, democratic liberties, and the right to have some voice (however formal and restricted they might be) in the public affairs of the community and nation have been important conditions for the intellectual, cultural, political and organizational development of the working class. *The main value that the laboring masses have derived from electoral politics has been its use as an arena for struggle for the full realization of the democratic promises of the bourgeoisie, a practical education in the limits and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, and as one means of developing the consciousness and organization necessary for the final emancipation of the working masses from the rule of capital and from all class oppression.* Strong electoral campaigns by proletarian parties can serve as a "review of forces", a trial of strength, and it is for this reason that Engels called participation in electoral politics "the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state." (THE STATE AND REVOLUTION, p. 16, FLP)

Cont. next p.

The proletariat needs the democratic republic: both now, under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as the political framework within which to prepare itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie; and also after the revolution, as the only possible form for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the democratic republic of socialism is fundamentally different from the democratic republic of capitalism. The bourgeois democratic republic is a parliamentary republic:

> "To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament - such is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics." (Ibid, p. 54)

Every "democracy", that is, every state which formally recognizes the subordination of the minority to the majority, is a democracy for the ruling class, a dictatorship over the other class. And the same is true of the democratic republic under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The difference between the dictatorship of the proletariat and all previous states is that for the first time real democracy is instituted by the majority-the masses of working people- actually ruling over the minority-the former exploiters. And for the first time in history the state is not the state of an exploiting class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the bourgeoisie is suppressed in its strivings for the re-establishment of capitalist relations, but it is not oppressed or exploited. Step by step the proletariat will do away with the conditions for the existence or re-emergence of a bourgeoisie, until there is no more minority to suppress, and the state withers away(along with democracy, the subordination of the minority to the majority) as classless, communist society comes into being.

The task of the proletariat in relationship to bourgeois democracy, then, is to utilize democracy, to extend democracy, in and through bourgeois democracy, despite bourgeois democracy, and ultimately by negating democracy, replacing it with proletarian democracy. In short, as Marx and Engels put it in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO,

> "...to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle for democracy."(p. 57 FLP)

And in any case, bourgeois democracy has already outlived its day, even in capitalist society. The victory of the capitalists over the landlords(in the U.S. this took place in the Civil War, the struggle in which capital finally wrested political power out of the hands of the slavocracy) did away with the need for the bourgeoisie to develop democracy any further. The development of capitalism into imperialism and the resulting intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism further undercut the material basis for bourgeois democracy. The rise of imperialism exhausted the democratic strivings of the bourgeoisie and ushered in the present era in which the characteristic feature of bourgeois rule is "reaction all along the line, whatever the political system" (Lenin).

Alongside the politically reactionary transformation of capitalism, imperialism also brings the most remarkable extension of the state in all fields of the life of capitalist society, because the very logic of development of monopoly capitalism is toward state monopoly capitalism. The state becomes no longer just the protector of business (business runs the post office, the government runs the railroads: the corporations keep the profits): even the trade unions come more and more under the direct supervision of the imperialist state (National Labor Relations Board, federal arbitration boards, etc.).

The superprofits of imperialist exploitation obtained off the backs of hundreds of millions of people in other countries, provide the material means for the imperialist bourgeoisie in the leading capitalist countries to bribe a small upper stratum of the proletariat, the labor aristocracy, which promotes within the working class the bourgeois world-view and the bourgeois stand on all the important questions facing the proletariat, all the way from the day-to-day tactics of the class struggle right up to the attitude toward imperialist war. It is in this way that the bourgeoisie has been able to split the proletariat, divert it into reformist channels of struggle, and forestall the inevitable revolution that imperialism has placed upon the order of the day. Now the question is directly that of power: the social revolution, the replacement of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat. This is why the simple alternation and combination of forceful suppression and liberal reformism are no longer adequate to hold the proletariat and the working masses in check. Now the imperialists directly buy a section of the working class, the labor aristocracy, over to the imperialists' parasitic and decadent interests and use them as bourgeois agents within the working class. *It has been the central task of the labor aristocracy to carry over and vulgarize the tasks and the corresponding forms of organization and methods of struggle from the earlier epoch into this new era: to confine the struggle of the proletariat to legal channels, to reduce the goals of the struggle to reforms, and to induce the proletariat to rely on bourgeois democracy and electoral politics to achieve its liberation.*

This is precisely the role played by the revisionists of the so-called "Communist" Party, USA, and the Socialist Workers' Party, and the reformist leaders of the AFL-CIO, who together represent the labor aristocracy. By encouraging the working class to rely on bourgeois electoral politics they are paving the way for fascism.

It is no accident that fascism made its appearance on the world stage shortly after World War I: it was a direct response to the October Revolution in Russia and the threat of proletarian revolution throughout the capitalist world. The October Revolution withdrew one-sixth of the world's population from the sphere of imperialist exploitation and threw world capitalism into a general crisis from which it will never recover. The October Revolution forever smashed the vain delusion of the imperialists that imperialism could expand forever - and imperialism must expand or die. In the face of the super-heated rivalry among the imperialist powers, the loss of spheres of domination through national liberation wars, and the threat of proletarian revolution, the imperialist bourgeoisie turns to fascism, the naked rule by force of the most reactionary and chauvinist elements of the imperialist bourgeoisie. In the realm of the state, fascism is the final exposure of the real nature of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. All the tools for the suppression of the proletariat that parliamentary democracy (in the US: Congress) has conferred upon the executive turn against bourgeois democracy itself. Marx called such a form of rule the "most prostitute reality" of the bourgeois state, "the last degraded and the only possible form that class ruling..." (THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE, p. 167, p. 165, FLP) The victory of fascism, though, is not inevitable, provided the class-conscious elements of the working class apply the science of Marxism-Leninism to the class struggle, throw the bureaucrats and revisionists who represent the labor aristocracy out of leadership of the movement of the class, and use all forms of struggle necessary to oppose the fascist assault of the imperialists and fight for the proletarian revolution. *The fight against fascism is not simply a question of defending bourgeois democracy, or of supporting the legislative branch against the executive branch of the government, or of supporting some imaginary "progressive wing" of the bourgeoisie against the so-called "fascist wing".* Competitive capitalism necessarily gave birth to monopoly capitalism which is imperialism and which cannot dispense with periodic worldwide wars of redivision. The replacement of the democratic mode of rule of the bourgeoisie by the fascist mode of rule by the same class is part and parcel of the same historical process and cannot be turned back except by waging revolutionary struggle against the whole bourgeoisie. We cannot rely on the political tool of the bourgeoisie, namely electoral politics, to defeat the inevitable trend of bourgeois development; nor can we rely on such a tool in our struggle to overthrow the very class that tool serves. *The fight against fascism is a fight against imperialism. The fight for democracy is a fight of proletarian democracy against bourgeois "democracy"; and this is a revolutionary fight.*

Both Marx and Engels often pointed out that capitalism in the US was developing in a "purely bourgeois" manner; by this they meant that capitalism in this country has been less mixed with older, pre-capitalist, economic forms than was the case in Europe, where every capitalist country has had remnants of feudal relations, monarchies, land aristocracies, etc. This is because in Europe capitalism arose out of, and in struggle against, feudalism over a period of several hundred years; but capitalism was brought ready-made, so to speak, to North America, where it was implanted on fresh soil by pushing aside primitive tribal societies, so that the US entered into capitalist development rather late and on a relatively high level.

One of the most striking aspects of US political development is that the proletariat in this country has never had a history of participating independently in bourgeois electoral politics. The two-party system is the most purely bourgeois form of electoral democracy, and both major parties have always been purely bourgeois parties. In Europe, the proletariat had its own parties, in some cases, even before the bourgeoisie had its own parties; but most if not all of these "Labour" parties have degenerated into representatives of the labor aristocracy and

CPUSA AND SWP ELECTORAL PROGRAMS:

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE

Revisionist politics makes... not so strange...bedfellows. The "Communist" Party, USA, the main revisionist force in the U.S., and the Socialist Workers' Party, the main Trotskyist force, who make such a big show of being at each other's throats, have come out with exactly the same program for the 1976 election campaign.

Both note the growing disaffection of the masses with the two main bourgeois parties and both conclude that what the masses need and want is....another electoral party. In all their campaign literature there is not one word by either party about the nature of the bourgeois state or the real role of electoral "democracy" under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Instead, both make out that the real problem is with the Democratic and the Republican Parties, which, because they serve the monopolists, cannot and will not serve the people. Therefore, what the people need is a "real" alternative, a socialist alternative, a party that, if voted into office, will serve the people.

The problem, according to the CPUSA, is with "the great monopoly parties who hog the democratic process for themselves", that the election is a "fixed horse race", and that the "time has come for clear and real choice, a viable alternative": "we want socialism as one of the options". The SWP echoes that we "can't trust the Democrats and the Republicans", that neither party "questions the profit motive". The SWP calls for a "campaign for socialism", a vote for "the socialist alternative".

In addition, the programs of both parties are entirely reformist, aimed at "turning the priorities" of the government "around to meet our needs" (SWP). Both call for a reduction of the work week without reduction in pay, a public works program to provide jobs and rebuild the cities, and improved social services, all to be financed by cutting the military budget and closing the tax loopholes for the rich. Again, these demands are just fine, but they must be combined with the explanation that they cannot be achieved under capitalism, that they will require a revolution. The CPUSA also pushes detente with the USSR, covering up the social-imperialist nature of the Soviet Union. The SWP, on the other hand, calls for the formation of a "Labor Party", a broad, mass party "based on the organized strength of the trade unions", covering up the role of the trade-union bureaucrats as traitors to the working class.

Both parties call upon the working class not to boycott the elections, but to "make your vote count" (CPUSA). The SWP thinks that electoral campaigns can win the majority of the population over to socialism, and then the people will vote the capitalists out. The CPUSA calls upon the workers to vote "Communist" in order to "get the fatcat politicians off their cans", to "make waves" and "rock the Establishment boat" -- apparently the people can force the *capitalists* to institute socialism!

The sum total effect of the CPUSA and SWP programs is not to hasten the political separation of the working class from bourgeois influence, but rather to mire the working class even more deeply in the bourgeois illusions of electoral "democracy" under the conditions of wage slavery. In this way, the CPUSA and SWP are playing the role that social-democracy has always played in the twentieth century: paving the way for fascism by diverting the working class from the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. ★

therefore into tools of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, in the US the struggle in Congress against the slaveholding class in the South was resolved on the battlefield in the Civil War before the working class succeeded in organizing itself into an independent party, so that there has never been a tradition in this country, as there has been in Europe, of struggle among several classes in the parliamentary arena. By the time the proletariat was capable of organizing its own party, Congress and other parliamentary bodies had already been cleared of all non-capitalist forces. While in Europe, the working-class parties were often useful to the bourgeoisie as allies against the feudal parties, in the US, the capitalists have no need to allow a working-class party into the electoral arena at all. On top of all this, the US "winner take all" system where candidates are elected by simple majority (as opposed to the "classical" parliamentary system of Europe where all parties get seats in Parliament in proportion to the number of votes each party gets in the country as a whole) effectively eliminates all competition against the capitalist parties. "Third parties" in the US (which have rarely been "proletarian parties") have always been limited to the role of undermining the lead of one of the two big bourgeois parties and enabling the other big bourgeois party to win: never has a "third party" played a truly independent role in the electoral system of the US.

The international experience of the working class with regard to bourgeois electoral politics reveals two basis lessons. On the one hand, the proletariat recognizes that electoral politics are a part of the system of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and, in their bourgeois form, must be overthrown along with the rest of the machinery of the capitalist state. The proletariat must replace the organs of power suited to bourgeois purposes with organs of power suited to proletarian purposes (e.g., replace the parliamentary bodies and the bureaucracy with workers' councils and whatever other forms emerge in the course of the revolution). The entire bourgeois state apparatus must be smashed - both physically and in terms of the confidence of the masses (through the experience of the masses) - and replaced with a proletarian state apparatus that will suppress the bourgeoisie, guide the development of the productive forces, and systematically educate and remold the proletariat and the masses. On the other hand, the revolutionary proletariat uses every democratic opportunity available to it in capitalist society.

At the same time, the proletariat rejects any theory that encourages subservience to bourgeois politics. The proletariat cannot vote its way to power:

> "Only scoundrels or simpletons can think that the proletariat must win the majority in elections carried out under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, under the yoke of wage-slavery, and that only after this must it win power. This is the height of folly or hypocrisy, is substituting voting, under the old system and with the old power, for class struggle and revolution. (Lenin, quoted in Lenin's FIGHT AGAINST REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM, p. 149, FLP)

This is the road that the CPUSA advocates, and the main thrust of its campaign in this election year is directed at the "unfairness" of the rules that keep small parties off the ballot. The CPUSA promotes the idea that if we reform the rules, we can elect the monopolists out and "the people" in.

The proletariat also rejects supporting the "lesser of two evils" among the bourgeois candidates, or of supporting the revisionists (CPUSA) or the various social-democratic forces (Peace and Freedom Party, Fred Harris, etc.) because they are at least "left" of the major candidates. This "lesser evil" theory is a bourgeois trap. There is no continuous scale from "right" to "left" upon which all political parties or positions fall. Every party represents a definite class, and those that represent the interests of the proletariat and the working masses against capital are genuine lefts; those that keep the proletariat tied politically to the bourgeoisie are "right", i.e., anti-working class.

Marxist-Leninists and the class-conscious proletariat know that class struggle is the motor of history, and base all their policies on the needs of the class struggle from the point of view of the working class. The proletariat has no interest in supporting any candidate of the capitalists, any candidate of the revisionist parties (CPUSA, SWP), or any social-democratic candidates. The electoral policy of the revolutionary proletariat is to support only parties and candidates that genuinely represent the interests of the proletariat and the other working people, or to support other, non-proletarian forces only on a conditional basis, and for good tactical reasons.

This means that before the proletariat can effectively use the electoral arena of struggle it must have its vanguard revolutionary party to concentrate and represent its political interests and guide the struggle on all fronts, political, economic and ideological.

In applying the lessons of the international proletariat and in formulating a policy toward the bourgeois elections, the vanguard of the proletariat proceeds from the basic criterion: will the participation of the working class in the elections strengthen or weaken the ruling class, will it strengthen or weaken the consciousness of the workers? Clearly, voting for any of the current presidential candidates can only strengthen the bourgeois sham of electoral democracy and divert the working class away from the revolutionary struggle.

In local elections and even in congressional elections, the role of the proletariat and its vanguard will have to be determined on a case-by-case basis in line with the basic principle of using or not using electoral tactics according to whether they raise the revolutionary consciousness and organization of the proletariat.

In this election it is clear what the spontaneous mood of the masses is and that that mood is in line with the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. Our job is to reinforce that mood, and transform the spontaneous boycott of bourgeois electoral politics into a conscious revolutionary struggle against bourgeois politics in general, against the bourgeois state.

The main obstacle preventing us from building the revolutionary struggle is the lack of a vanguard part of the proletariat - the building of a genuine communist party is the key link in the whole revolutionary chain. The tasks of the revolutionary proletariat, then, in relation to the elections are:

1. Form the vanguard party to give a conscious character to the boycott and lead it, to mobilize the working class in revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, to put forward a program for the working class to intensify the struggle to end bourgeois rule and to prevent imperialist war;
2. Separate the working class from the bourgeoisie politically, i.e., bring the working class, through its own experience, to the position where it looks to the genuine communist party as leadership of the class; and
3. Establish proletarian democracy by making the socialist revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. ~~~

Cont. from p. 9

GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG MEMORIAL SPEECH

senting the aspirations and interests of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants to continue the revolution, Chairman Mao himself initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which smashed the schemes of Liu Shao-Chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping for restoration, criticzed their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and enabled us to seize back that portion of leading power in the party and state they had usurped, thus ensuring China's victorious advance along the Marxist-Leninist road. The constant defeat of subversion and sabotage by imperialism, revisionism and reaction, the upholding of socialism and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China, a populous country with a vast territory -- this is a great contribution of world historic significance made by Chairman Mao Tsetung to the present era and has at the same time provided the international Communist movement with new experience in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. With the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he launched the great struggle in the international Communist movement to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, brought about the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward. Basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revoltuion, Chairman Mao summed up the experience of domestic and international revolutionary struggles, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in all respects and enriched the treasure-house of Marxist theory. Mao Tsetung Thought is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and for opposing imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. THE CORRECTNESS OR INCORRECTNESS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING. All victories won by the Chinese people are great victories of Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought will always illuminate the Chinese people's road of advance.

Chairman Mao Tsetung is a brilliant example of wholehearted devotion to the interests of the people of China and the world. Chairman Mao dedicated all his energies throughout his life till his last breath to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over and to the cause of communism. A great proletarian revolutionary like Chairman Mao, who weathers all kinds of revolutionary storms, overcomes every difficulty and hardship, and always identifies himself with the workers, peasants and other labouring people and stands in the revolutionary movement to guide it forward, is rare indeed in the annals of the proletarian revolutionary movement. The magnificent contributions Chairman Mao made in revolutionary theory and practice are immortal. Chairman Mao has passed away. This is a loss beyond measure to our Party, our army and the people of all nationalities of our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international communist movement.

The whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must respond to the call of the Party Central Committee actively, turn grief into strength, carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao, PRACTISE MARXISM, AND NOT REVISIONISM - UNITE, AND DON'T SPLIT - BE OPEN AND ABOVEBOARD, AND DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, carry through to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution in China which Chairman Mao pioneered.

Internally, we must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the basic line and policies of the Party for the entire historical period of socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts, work to build our country into a powerful socialist state, and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity. We are determined to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying our motherland. Externally, we must continue to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, uphold proletarian internationalism, and never seek hegemony. We must strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over strengthen our unity with the people of the third world countries, and strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism so as to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in the world and wage a common struggle for the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man and the realization of communism on earth, for the liberation of all mankind!

CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG WILL LIVE FOREVER IN OUR HEARTS!

LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG!

STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

MINERS WILDCAT IN SIX STATES!

The recently ended wildcat strike of 90,000 coal miners was an action prompted by deep-seated contradictions both between miners and the bourgeois coal barons and within the United Mine Workers itself, between rank and file workers and a union bureaucracy whose opportunism has been increasingly exposed through its own open collaboration with monopoly capitalism.

The strike began in July when the Cedar Coal Company refused to put into effect a safety grievance decision favoring miners. The strike mushroomed into a six-state walkout when a federal court judge issued an injunction against the strike and then jailed and fined those miners who refused to comply. It is directly out of the struggle for safety in the mines and against such court-imposed limitations on the right to strike that a rank and file strike movement within the United Mine Workers has grown and reached the proportions evident in July.

Over and over again, as in the case of Cedar Coal, miners find themselves forced to go beyond the struggle against individual companies to deal directly with the power of the bourgeois state.

Industry's use of the courts to ensure productivity and bolster their ability to exploit rank and file miners has forced coal miners to take up wildcat strikes as the only protection against a sell-out union bureaucracy and deadly working conditions. The so called "protection" of the 1974 contract negotiated by Arnold Miller has been reduced to a toothless bark in the face of repeated health and safety violations by the coal monopolies. *Miners have learned, through bitter struggle, that the grievance procedure built into their contract does not ensure protection against hazardous conditions and continued assualts by the coal companies. Miners know that the only way to effectively refuse to work in an unsafe area, to refuse to operate unsafe equipment or to work without helpers to warn of danger is through the power to strike.*

This weapon of the workers has been under increasing attack by monopoly capitalism. The Norris La Guardia Act of 1932 which was supposed to eliminate the use of restraining orders and injunctions in labor disputes has long had what significance it originally had over-turned by later legislations and court decisions: In 1947 the Taft-Hartley Act made unions liable to be sued for breach of contract; in 1962 the Supreme Court ruled that any contract which contained a grievance machinery leading to binding arbitration contained an implied no-strike provision; in 1970 the Supreme Court ruled that U.S. District courts have every power to issue injunctions and restraining orders in labor disputes.

The bourgeois coal barons have made liberal use of such "legal" powers, their weapon in the class struggle. Fines of $40,000 to $50,000 levied against locals of the United Mine Workers are not unusual and $5,000 to $10,000 is routine. Federal judges have handed out fines so large that the courts have seized and impounded the dues income of individual locals, making it impossible for these locals to operate effectively. Particularly clear examples of the anti-strike character of such court fines have occurred in East Kentucky where courts have fined locals up to $15,000 and then reduced the fine substantially each month an "illegal" work stoppage did not occur.

In the face of this legal offensive by the courts, the judicial arm of the capitalist state, rank and file miners have acted in a straight-forward manner to resist all attempts to undermine the right to strike through the use of injunctions and restraining orders. *In this way the economic struggle of coal miners has, of necessity, had its political character heightened through forced confrontation with the government apparatus.* In the course of saying "NO!" to bourgeois legality, rank and file miners have come to a greater understanding, not only of the relationship between the companies and the courts but also between these two strongholds of the bourgeoisie and their own reformist leadership.

As rank and file miners quickly moved throughout six states to organize resistance in response to the situation at Cedar Coal, the necessity became obvious to fight the enemy on two fronts: on the

one hand there was the arm-in-arm resistance of the companies and the courts, while on the other, the fight against their own reformist leadership was becoming more and more urgent.

The reformists who rose to powerful positions in the United Mine Workers on the basis of promises that they would defend the interests of working miners have taken increasingly aggressive and systematic measures to confine the militant struggles of the union rank and file safely within the limitations of bourgeois legality, on the basis of the interests of the bourgeoisie. The rank and file strike movement within the United Mine Workers, while growing tremendously, *has encountered stiff resistance from these bureaucrats who pretend to fight for the working class.* The bureaucracy headed by Arnold Miller has refused to support rank and file strikes over local grievances and, in the case of the recent month-long wildcat, loudly treatened all those who did not return to work with outright expulsion from the United Mine Workers. Miller's opposition to rank and file actions in defiance of court restriction in general has been based on the insistance that workers respect the "laws of the land". And during the recent strike it was Arnold Miller who, at a rank and file rally which promptly booed him off the stage, declared openly that "if you're going to defy the judges, I do not support you". Such a *class stand* on the part of the leadership of one of the most militant unions of the U.S. working class clearly demonstrates where the limitations of reformism inevitably lead - to strike breaking backed by intimidations and threats, and to demands that the struggles of the working class bow to the system of laws which the bourgeoisie has set up specifically for the purpose of maintaining its interests as the ruling class. It is such a reactionary political stand which primarily identifies the trade union bureaucrats as enemies of the working class and is the chief means by which friend may be distinguished from foe within the ranks of the working class itself.

Arnold Miller's rise to the leadership of the United Mine Workers is an important lesson to workers and communists concerning the relationship between opportunism and reformism and the fact that all attempts to limit the struggles of the working class entirely to peaceful partial reforms invariably results in the betrayal of the interests of the class as a whole. This is the meaning of opportunism and of the history of opportunism with which the workers of the world, including the miners of the United Mine Workers, have a long and bitter experience.

Backed by the power of the courts and unchallenged by the United Mine Workers international, the coal companies have consistently used contract procedures to ignore grievances, stall the implementation of safety and health measures, and fire workers who insist on their rights. The coal companies know this, the courts know it, and rank and file miners know it yet the United Mine Workers bureaucracy insists that the failure of the grievance procedure is "lack of understanding concerning the contract by both union members and management" and that the answer to this lack of understanding is more "education" concerning use of contract procedures!

In response to those workers who have had enough "education" concerning the ineffectiveness of grievance procedures alone and have attempted to lend extra emphasis to their demands, the actions of the bureaucrats have been blatantly anti-working class. The international executive board has openly recommended that such anti-strike measures be taken as the refusal to pay legal fees or fines of locals, the use of disciplinary procedures stipulated in the United Mine Workers constitution regarding "foreign pickets", and the encouragement of local union members to take actions against other workers who "unjustly deprive them of their right to work, including the filing of charges." In addition, the trade union bureaucrats have been promoting a wave of anti-communism within the union in order to try and intimidate the most militant fighters for the rank and file movement.

Such traitorous actions on the part of the leadership of a major union, while sharply contrary to the interests of the working class, are profoundly important to the U.S. bourgeoisie who have unsparingly used every means of bribery and coercion to maintain the loyalty and influence of their agents in the workers movement. With U.S. imperialism losing control of its foreign sources of raw materials, the domestic supply of coal has become increasingly important both as a strategic material crucial to the steel and utility industries and as a future source of liquid and gas fuels. As the oil and coal industries' planned introduction of coal gasification and liquification plants proceeds, coal production must be boosted 10% annually to 1.5 billion tons by 1985 in order to meet the needs of the capitalist economy. In light of this, the primary importance to the bourgeoisie of Arnold Miller and the rest of the United Mine Workers bureaucracy is to ensure a stable supply of labor power to meet the industry's production demands, at the expense of the working class. This has meant opposition to wildcats, the sacrificing of mine safety, collaboration with the companies and the courts in undermining coal miners right to strike, and punishing "unruly" behavior from the union rank and file.

The official position of the United Mine Workers bureaucrats that wildcats are ruining the union and that the best way to win big gains in collective bargaining is to offer stability in the mines clearly reflects their role as hatchet men for the bourgeoisie.

In taking up the struggle against militant strike action on the part of the rank and file, the United Mine Workers bureaucracy has taken its place among the rest of the trade union bureaucrats who see binding no-strike agreements as being the only "intelligent" approach to settling the differences between labor and management. Such opportunism is not limited to Arnold Miller or to the United Mine Workers but has been increasingly and more openly embraced by the entire leadership of the U.S. labor movement as the objective conditions for imperialism continue to worsen.

By the early 50's, U.S. monopoly capitalism had already begun to lose the favored economic position it had won during the Second World War. In response the bourgeoisie has increased its all-out program to tighten the reins on the capitalist harness and to saddle the working class with the unwelcome task of saving capitalism from defeat at the hands of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. The primary goal of this program has been the implementation of the bourgeoisie's old demand for "labor peace". The concept of labor peace so often found on the lips of both the bourgeoisie and their servants, the trade union bureaucrats, has as its basis false notions concerning the inviolability and permanence of capitalist exploitation and is oriented toward the revival and rehabilitation of a capitalism racked with crisis. From this aim of rehabilitation flows the necessity of saving the economy from stagnation and from loss of profit through strikes, low-labor productivity, and "over-concern" with the questions of safety, job security, workers health, etc. To serve this end the bourgeoisie has collected together a whole assortment of long-term no-strike agreements, joint labor-management committees, and government agencies and councils to deal with problems of labor disputes.

The implementation of these measures and the achievement of this much desired "peace" on the part of labor relies heavily on the collaboration of the trade union bureaucracy. It is these bureaucrats whom the bourgeoisie has charged with the task of diverting the working class away from the path of resistance to its demands and onto a path of cooperation and faith in the good intentions of capitalism and the agents who serve it.

Arnold Miller and other reformists like him are neither willing nor able to lead the working class in the struggle for its interests because these traitors do not want a struggle. Because they do not want a struggle, they invariably act against the interests of the working class at the decisive moment, as was the case in the recent miners wildcat. The primary requirement of successful struggle against the attacks of the bourgeoisie is the ability to carry out independent political action based on a view which accurately reflects the interests of the working class. For the United Mine Workers rank and file this does not mean independent of the Union but rather independent from the influence of the bourgeoisie and their agents, the trade union bureaucrats like Arnold Miller.

The recent wildcat in coal represented a significant step forward for the entire working class. The militant and effective action of so many miners over such a large area, boldly taking up the struggle against the alliance of the companies and the courts; all without funds, in defiance of bourgeoisie legality, in spite of the leadership of the United Mine Workers - all this represents a growing militant wave of revolutionary struggle.

This spontaneous struggle against the coal barons is not unique to the coal industry, as workers in many other industries steadily come to see the complete impossibility of reconciling the interests of the workers with the interests of capital. However, the growing resistance remains today on a spontaneous level, and will continue to be spontaneous until the independent political action of the workers finds a conscious expression in the forging of a vanguard communist party capable of raising the entire working class movement to a class-conscious revolutionary struggle guided by the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

In the trade unions, and particularly in militant trade unions like the United Mine Workers where the class struggle between labor and capital is extremely sharp, the pivot of our tactics must be the struggle to expose and drive out of the unions the traitors within our own ranks, the labor aristocracy and the trade union bureaucrats. Concretely, in the United Mine Workers, this means kicking out both the old Boyle Loyalists and the Miller-led reformists. Old trade union machinery which serves the bourgeois state must be replaced with a genuine proletarian democracy in the union, with the most advanced and hard-fighting representatives of the working class who are committed to lead the workers in combat against capital.

The struggles of the trade unions must become a struggle for socialism. In the course of this struggle, strikes of every manner must become vehicles by which advanced workers and communists actively seek to expand the class consciousness of all workers and to develop the revolutionary organization of the class as a whole. ❖❖❖

The Struggle Against the LABOR ARISTOCRACY

The Labor Aristocracy is the pivot of our tactics in the working class movement, the main prop of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement. The trade union bureaucrats are the "white guard" of this boureois force, the real shock troops of the enemy. On the basis of this understanding of the nature of these capitalist agents, Marxist-Leninists must focus on the question of the attitude of the communist movement towards winning the masses from their influence and on the conditions necessary for the succesful carrying out of this task. Fundamental to this question is a scientific understanding of the nature of political agreements as applied to the reactionary leaders of the trade union movement.

The position of Lenin and Stalin on this question is that agreements with the reactionary leaders of the working class are quite possible and permissable, but only on the basis of certain conditions. But why are such agreements necessary at all? Comrade Stalin answered this question clearly and we believe that his position is still the clearest expression of the correct application of Marxist-Leninist tactics to this problem. He said: Such agreements are necessary,

> "In order to gain access to the working class masses, in order to enlighten them as the reactionary character of their political and trade union leaders, in order to sever from the reactionary leaders the sections of the working class that are moving to the left and becoming revolutionized, in order, consequently, to enhance the fighting ability of the working class as a whole." (Stalin, "On the Opposition", p. 357)

These are the basic reasons for such agreements, which must be made only on the guarantee of two basic conditions, (1) that we are able to ensure complete freedom and ability to criticize the reformist leaders, to agitate, to propagandize, and to carry out political activity against them, and (2) that the necessary conditions for severing the masses from the reactionary leaders are ensured. Through the application of these guidelines we will prepare the conditions for communists to carry out the reformist and revisionist leaders of the working class, of gaining access to the masses of workers in the trade unions, in order to sever the membership and those that follow the lead of the trade unions from the traitorous leadership.

In the course of this we must establish proletarian leadership as the active living alternative to this corrupt strata. Communist work in the trade unions is no mysterious undertaking, but is the day to day work of winning the confidence of the masses, of providing leadership which can be looked to and sought out to uphold the interests of the class.

PIVOT OF OUR TACTICS
in the Labor Movement

UMW Convention

The 47th constitutional convention of the United Mine Workers (UMW) opened in Cincinnati on September 23 in an atmosphere of sharp rank and file discontent with Arnold Miller's handling of the recent miner's wildcat and of power struggling under the leadership of vice-president Mike Trbovich and secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick.

The two things which have stood out most clearly during this convention so far are, on the one hand, the resolute and militant fight for union democracy and the right to strike carried on by the majority of rank and file delegates and, on the other, the attempts of feuding bureaucrats on the executive board to demogogically cash in on the discontent with Miller's policies to cultivate their own careerist aspirations as union bosses.

Arnold Miller has repeatedly pleaded for a show of unity from the delegates on the basis that "Divisions in our union undermine the strength of every UMW coal miner in the country." Miller has failed, however, to deal with the question of "Unity around what?". Miller's assertions that under his leadership "Democracy was restored to our union, the cloud of fear was lifted, and for the first time is on the move on all fronts", have been rebuffed by the majority of delegates who clearly feel that the changes made in the UMW since the ouster of Tony Boyle have not been carried far enough. (Cont. p. 10)

Auto Workers Oppose Bourgeois "Recovery"

Economic crisis has forced the bourgeoisie to take every possible measure to increase the productivity of workers-to increase the rate of exploitation as a means of increasing the rate of profit. In auto this has meant, on the one hand, hundreds of thousands of workers on lay-off, and on the other, speed-up, forced over-time, and unsafe working conditions for those who remain on the job. This year in spite of the fact that the auto industry workforce remains far below the level before the big lay-offs of 1974, profits at GM, Chrysler, and Ford have reached record levels, primarily on the basis of increased worker productivity. It is the struggle of auto workers against this exploitation which will be the determining factor in the development and outcome of the present auto strike involving 170,000 United Auto Worker members.

The demands of the companies concerning contract conditions have been made clear:

-Cuts in health care coverage;

-Stronger disciplinary procedures aimed at reducing the high rate of "absenteeism" resulting from speed-up and forced over-time;

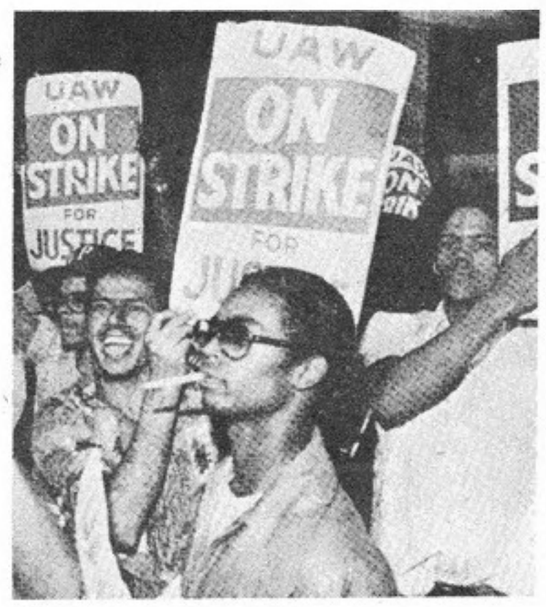
-Cuts in money paid to the families of auto workers killed on the job at a time when the industry death rate is on the rise;

-All grievances concerning the question of speed-up are to be subject to arbitration, and that the right to strike over such grievances be waived until the completion of such arbitration;

-Extra money to be granted to workers as a result of the new contract will have to be tied to higher productivity.

The response of auto workers has been equally clear with a strike vote almost 95% in favor of walking out to begin the largest industrial strike in this country in six years.

The present situation in the auto industry is a crystal-clear example of how the requirements of temporary "recovery" for the bourgeoisie spells "disaster" for the working class. The record profits of the auto industry have not solved the problem of unemployment for workers in auto and related industries but, on the contrary, have served to worsen many aspects of capitalist exploitation. With over 65,000 still on lay-off, auto workers routinely work a compulsory



48-53 hours per week under speeded-up conditions which have greatly increased the number of accidents and deaths, as well as the long term toll taken by fatigue and stress. Health and safety committees established after the last contract have no enforcement powers and have been used primarily as an excuse to head-off the setting up of genuine committees by rank and file. Such conditions have developed and continued to worsen in spite of growing worker opposition because of the collaboration of the UAW bureaucracy.

The UAW bureaucrats, from the earliest days of the Reuther era, have always approached contract bargaining from the standpoint of swapping wages for productivity. For these bureaucrats, increased productivity is seen as the best way to increase labor's share of the imperialist pie and to guarantee the sale of labor power at the highest possible price. In 1967 this opportunist "business unionism" resulted in a contract settlement which gave up all worker control over disciplinary procedures, production scheduling, and automation. Since that time the companies, while forced to make limited concessions in wages, cost of living allowance, and supplemental unemployment benefits, have established tight control over these areas.

In 1973, under the threat of rank and file revolt, contract provisions governing overtime were finally gained but were negotiated in such a way as to have little effect on assembly line workers and which allowed for endless exceptions and loopholes when applied to the majority of auto workers. And even these demands were accompanied by hasty assurances from the UAW bureaucrats that auto workers would not refuse overtime and would not use the skimpy power they had won as a "weapon" against the companies. (Cont. p. 10)

ETERNAL GLORY T

DECEMBER 26, 1893- S

Excerpt from

IN COMMEMORATION OF MAO TSETUNG

Issued by the Central Committee MARXIST - LENINIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Today we do not exaggerate when we say that regardless of nationality, wherever there are people who struggle against oppression, Mao Tsetung's China stands at their side

With full conviction, we can say that the entire world is today closer to the cause of complete emancipation of nations, socialism, communism and world peace because there has been a Communist Party of China for over fifty years, with Mao Tsetung in the lead

The people of the entire world express their unbound gratitude to Mao Tsetung, and share in the deep sorrow of his death

Everywhere in the world today the imperialists and revisionists are working double time to attack and undermine the People's Republic of China, and slander and discredit Comrade Mao Tsetung

The chauvinist and revisionist "Communist" Party, USA thinks they can deceive the people of the U S as they sought to do by slandering Comrade Stalin But this will not work Fortune magazine, an organ of monopoly capitalism, recently ran a three part series on the disintegration of the international communist movement

Nothing could be further from the truth Today Mao Tsetung Thought is disseminated worldwide in unprecedented strength The international communist movement grows stronger, firmer and more able to daily lead the working class struggle than ever before

When this does not work, the revisionists try to tell us that there will be some kind of power struggle inside China They look in the mirror only to see themselves

Mao Tsetung has taught us that classes and class struggle exists in China, and will continue to exist, right inside the Communist Party of China, right inside the Central Committee There most certainly will be class struggle in China, and there is worldwide If any lesson is to be learned from Mao Tsetung, it should be the inevitability of class struggle

Mao Tsetung, more than anyone else in the modern era, recognized the lesson of dialectics well And for this reason, Mao Tsetung set out to train countless successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, both in China, and world-wide

They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism They must be revolutionaries who whole-heartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world, and must not be like Khrushchov who serves both the interests of the privileged bourgeois stratum in his own country and those of foreign imperialism and reaction They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice But they must especially watch out for careerists and conspirators like Khrushchov and prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of 'from the masses, to the masses', and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses They must not be despotic like Khrushchov and violate the Party's democratic centralism, make suprise attacks on comrades or act arbitrarily and dictatorially They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity, they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and short comings of their work They must never cover up their errors like Khrushchov, and claim all the credit for themselves and shift all the blame on others "
(Peking Review, #26, 6/25/76)

Of all the tributes we can pay the great Mao Tsetung, none perhaps is as important as to recognize that becasue of Mao Tsetung, there are today hundreds upon millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in countries all over the world

Turning our grief into strength means to train ourselves to become successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, to practice Marxism and not revisionism, to seek to unite and not to split, and to be open and above board, not intrigue and conspire In this way, we will become fighters for the cause of the people, for socialist revolution, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the cause of communism

In the last three quarters of a century, Mao Tsetung led the people of China from the depths of feudalism and barbaric oppression through the foundation of a vanguard communist party, the new democratic revolution, the formation of a peoples liberation army, the seizure of state power and the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China, socialist revolution toward the cause of communism Today the Chinese people have stood up, and Mao Tsetung has been their chairman

On a vast scale, against titanic odds, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought has united the people of all nationalities in China and broken the centuries old chain of exploitation and oppression The depth of this achievement can be seen in the steel of the army, the dedication of the people, and the joy in the eyes of the children

In the world today, the cause of progress, peace and communism will forever be associated with the name of Mao Tsetung

In commemorating the memory and life of Mao Tsetung, our task must be to defend resolutely the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, oppose all distortions of this revolutionary heritage by the modern revisionists and closely link the struggle against modern revisionism to the struggle against U S imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism

In particular, we must carry forward our historic mission and chief proletarian internationalist duty to overthrow monopoly capitalism in the U S and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, toward the cause of communism In this chain of revolutionary struggle, the key link today, the central task, must be to forge a vanguard communist party to lead the working class and its allies to victory

In taking up this proletarian duty, we will forever cherish the heroic example of Mao Tsetung Today, on countless plains, 'red flags stream in the wind in a blaze of glory'

The deep sorrow with which we commemorate Mao Tsetung is at the same time a source of deep strength Though we mourn the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung we are moved by his life

Wind and thunder are stirring
Flags and banners are flying,
Wherever men live
Thirty eight years have fled
With a mere snap of the fingers,
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights

This is the legacy of Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the modern period

The life of Mao Tsetung will forever shine in the hearts of all those who struggle for freedom The entire people of China, the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the entire world will most certainly carry forward the red flag held high by Mao Tsetung Our strength is inexhaustible and invincible Our victory is certain Our unity is like the fingers of a single hand

THE WORKING AND PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND ALL MANKIND WILL FOREVER CHERISH AND UPHOLD THE BANNER OF MAO TSETUNG THERE WILL BE COUNTLESS SUCCESSORS TO THE CAUSE WHICH MAO TSETUNG DEDICATED HIS ENTIRE LIFE

Chairman Mao making the speech the labor heroes in the Shensi-Ka

TWO BIRDS A DIALOGUE
(Autum

THE ROC WINGS FANWISE
SOARING NINETY THOUSAND
AND ROUSING A RAGING CYC
THE BLUE SKY ON HIS BACK
TO SURVEY MAN'S WORLD WI
GUNFIRE LICKS THE HEAVEN
SHELLS PIT THE EARTH
A SPARROW IN HIS BUSH IS
"THIS IN ONE HELL OF A M
O I WANT TO FLIT AND FL

"WHERE MAY I ASK?"
THE SPARROW REPLIES
"TO A JEWELLED PALACE IN
DON'T YOU KNOW A TRIPLE
UNDER THE BRIGHT AUTUMN
THERE'LL BE PLENTY TO EA
POTATOES PIPING HOT,
BEEF-FILLED GOULASH "
"STOP YOUR WINDY NONSENS
LOOK, THE WORLD IS BEIN(

ETERNAL GLORY TO MAO TSETUNG

DECEMBER 26, 1893- SEPTEMBER 9, 1976

rom

RATION OF
TSETUNG

by the
ommittee
GANIZING COMMITTEE

Chairman Mao making the speech Get Organized' at a reception for the labor heroes in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region (1943)

MEMORIAL S
HUA KU
COMMU
AT MAS
CHAIRM

Comrades and Friends

Today, representatives of
Party, government and army or
zations, workers, peasants, s
iers and other circles in the
ital are here at Tienanmen Sq
holding a solemn Mass Memoria
Meeting and, along with the p
of all nationalities throughou
country, mourning with the mo
found sorrow Chairman Mao Tse
our esteemed and beloved grea
leader and the great teacher
the international proletariat
the oppressed nations and opp
sed people

Over the last few days,the
Party, the whole army and the
ple of all nationalities thro
the country have been immerse
boundless sorrow at the passi
Chairman Mao Tsetung The cau
that our great leader Chairma
devoted his whole life to is
by flesh-and-blood ties with
masses of the people It was
der Chairman Mao's leadership
the Chinese people who had lo
suffered from oppression and
ploitation won emancipation a
became masters of the country
It was under Chairman Mao's l
ership that the disaster-plag
Chinese nation rose to its fe
The Chinese people love, trus
esteem Chairman Mao from the
tom of their hearts The inte
tional proletariat and progre
sive mankind all deeply mourn
the death of Chairman Mao

Chairman Mao tempered and
nurtured our Party in the str
gles it carried out under his
leadership against class enem
at home and abroad and inside
outside the Party, in hard, l
acute and complex class strug
and two-line struggles The hi
tory of the Chinese Communist
Party is a history of struggle
between Chairman Mao's Marxist
Leninist line and the right
and "left" opportunist lines
the Party Under Chairman Mao'
leadership, our Party defeate
the opportunist lines pursued
by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai,
Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wan
Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang-
Jao Shu-shih, and Peng Teh-hua
and again, during the Great Pr
letarian Cultural Revolution,
triumphed over the counter-revo
tionary revisionist line of Li
Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hs
ping Guided by Chairman Mao's
Marxist-Leninist line, our Par
has steadily grown in strength
has developed from small group
a few dozen communists into a
ty with a membership of over 3
million which now leads the Pe
ple's Republic of China, into
disciplined Party armed with t
theory of Marxism-Leninism, us
the method of self-criticism a
closely linked with the masses
the people, and into a great,
glorious and correct Marxist-L
ist Party

Chairman Mao tempered and n
tured our army in protracted r
olutionary wars He long ago p
forward the famous thesis that
"POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF
BARREL OF A GUN" He led the A
umn Harvest Uprising, founded
the First Worker-Peasant Red A

and reaction
proletarian
pable of uniting
ogether with the
majority Not
ey unite with those
th them, they must
at uniting with
sagree and even with
rmerly opposed them
ce been proved wrong
But they must es-
ch out for careerists
tors like Khrushchov
such bad elements
g the leadership of
d the state at any
must be models in
Party's democra-
sm, must master the
adership based on
e of 'from the mass-
asses', and must
democratic style and
istening to the mass
t not be despotic
hov and violate the
cratic centralism,
attacks on comrades
rarily and dicta-

modest and prudent
ainst arrogance and
they must be imbued
rit of self-criti-
e the courage to
akes and short com-
r work They must
up their errors like
and claim all the
hemselves and shift
e on others "
ew, #26, 6/25/76)

tributes we can pay
Tsetung, none per-
ortant as to recog-
sue of Mao Tsetung,
hundreds upon mil-
ssors to the revolu-
of the proletariat
ll over the world
gnet into strength
ourselves to become
the revolutionary
oletariat, to prac-
d not revisionism,
te and not to split,
and above board,
d conspire In
ill become fighters
of the people, for
lution, for the es-
the dictatorship
riat, and for the
ism

three quarters of
Tsetung led the peo-
rom the depths of
barbaric oppression
ndation of a van-
party, the new
olution, the forma-
les liberation army,
state power and
nt of the Peoples
na, socialist revo-
he cause of commu-
Chinese people
and Mao Tsetung
chairman
ale, against ti-
ism-Leninism-
ught has united the

people of all nationalities in China and broken the centuries old chain of exploitation and oppression The depth of this achievement can be seen in the steel of the army, the dedication of the people, and the joy in the eyes of the children

In the world today, the cause of progress, peace and communism will forever be associated with the name of Mao Tsetung

In commemorating the memory and life of Mao Tsetung, our task must be to defend resolutely the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, oppose all distortions of this revolutionary heritage by the modern revisionists and closely link the struggle against modern revisionism to the struggle against U S imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism

In particular, we must carry forward our historic mission and chief proletarian internationalist duty to overthrow monopoly capitalism in the U S and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, toward the cause of communism In this chain of revolutionary struggle, the key link today, the central task, must be to forge a vanguard communist party to lead the working class and its allies to victory

In taking up this proletarian duty, we will forever cherish the heroic example of Mao Tsetung Today, on countless plains, 'red flags stream in the wind in a blaze of glory'

The deep sorrow with which we commemorate Mao Tsetung is at the same time a source of deep strength Though we mourn the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung we are moved by his life

Wind and thunder are stirring
Flags and banners are flying,
Wherever men live
Thirty eight years have fled
With a mere snap of the fingers,
We can clasp the moon in the
Ninth Heaven
And seize turtles deep down in
the Five Seas
We'll return amid triumphant
song and laughter
Nothing is hard in this world
If you dare to scale the heights

This is the legacy of Mao Tsetung, the greatest Marxist-Leninist of the modern period

The life of Mao Tsetung will forever shine in the hearts of all those who struggle for freedom The entire people of China, the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of the entire world will most certainly carry forward the red flag held high by Mao Tsetung Our strength is inexhaustible and invincible Our victory is certain Our unity is like the fingers of a single hand

THE WORKING AND PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND ALL MANKIND, WILL FOREVER CHERISH AND UPHOLD THE BANNER OF MAO TSETUNG THERE WILL BE COUNTLESS SUCCESSORS TO THE CAUSE WHICH MAO TSETUNG DEDICATED HIS ENTIRE LIFE

TWO BIRDS A DIALOGUE
(Autumn 1965)

THE ROC WINGS FANWISE
SOARING NINETY THOUSAND LI
AND ROUSING A RAGING CYCLONE
THE BLUE SKY ON HIS BACK HE LOOKS DOWN
TO SURVEY MAN'S WORLD WITH ITS TOWNS AND CITIES
GUNFIRE LICKS THE HEAVENS,
SHELLS PIT THE EARTH
A SPARROW IN HIS BUSH IS SCARED STIFF
"THIS IN ONE HELL OF A MESS'
O I WANT TO FLIT AND FLY AWAY "

"WHERE MAY I ASK?"
THE SPARROW REPLIES
"TO A JEWELLED PALACE IN ELFLAND'S HILLS
DON'T YOU KNOW A TRIPLE PACT WAS SIGNED
UNDER THE BRIGHT AUTUMN MOON TWO YEARS AGO?
THERE'LL BE PLENTY TO EAT
POTATOES PIPING HOT
BEEF-FILLED GOULASH "
"STOP YOUR WINDY NONSENSE'
LOOK, THE WORLD IS BEING TURNED UPSIDE DOWN "

O MAO TSETUNG!

EPTEMBER 9, 1976

MEMORIAL SPEECH BY HUA KUO-FENG, FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL, AT MASS MEMORIAL MEETING FOR GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

Get Organized' at a reception for
nsu-Ningsia Border Region (1943)

n 1965)

LI
LONE
HE LOOKS DOWN
TH ITS TOWNS AND CITIES
'S

SCARED STIFF
IESS'
' AWAY "

' ELFLAND'S HILLS
PACT WAS SIGNED
MOON TWO YEARS AGO?
T

E'
TURNED UPSIDE DOWN "

Comrades and Friends

Today, representatives of the Party, government and army organizations, workers, peasants, soldiers and other circles in the capital are here at Tienanmen Square holding a solemn Mass Memorial Meeting and, along with the people of all nationalities throughout the country, mourning with the most profound sorrow Chairman Mao Tsetung, our esteemed and beloved great leader and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people

Over the last few days,the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have been immersed in boundless sorrow at the passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung The cause that our great leader Chairman Mao devoted his whole life to is linked by flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the Chinese people who had long suffered from oppression and exploitation won emancipation and became masters of the country It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the disaster-plagued Chinese nation rose to its feet The Chinese people love, trust and esteem Chairman Mao from the bottom of their hearts The international proletariat and progressive mankind all deeply mourn the death of Chairman Mao

Chairman Mao tempered and nurtured our Party in the struggles it carried out under his leadership against class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the Party, in hard, long, acute and complex class struggle and two-line struggles The history of the Chinese Communist Party is a history of struggles between Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line and the right and "left" opportunist lines in the Party Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party defeated the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang-Jao Shu-Shih, and Peng Teh-huai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, trumphed over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping Guided by Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line, our Party has steadily grown in strength It has developed from small groups of a few dozen communists into a party with a membership of over 30 million which now leads the People's Republic of China, into a disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses of the people, and into a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party

Chairman Mao tempered and nurtured our army in protracted revolutionary wars He long ago put forward the famous thesis that "POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN" He led the Autumn Harvest Uprising, founded the First Worker-Peasant Red Army and set up the first rural revolutionary base area in the Chingkang Mountains In the last 50 years, Chairman Mao led our army in smashing the counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the Kuomintang against the revolutionary base areas, in successfully completing the world-renowned 25,000-li Long March, in defeating Japanese imperialism, in wiping out eight million troops of the Chiang Kai-shek gang armed by U S imperialism and, after the founding of new China, in victoriously waging the war to resist U S aggression and aid Korea, triumphantly repulsing the armed provocations against our country by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and reaction, and defending the security of the motherland During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our army followed Chairman Mao's teachings and supported industry, agriculture and the broad masses of the left, exercised military control and gave political and military training, thereby making new contributions to the people Chairman Mao formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our army on army building and the strategy and tactics of People's War, and this is the fundamental reason why our army was able to grow from small to big, from weak to strong, develop into powerful armed forces combining field armies, local armies and a vast militia and become the solid pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat Against the people's armed forces armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, any enemy that dares to intrude will certainly be drowned in the vast ocean of People's War

Basing himself on the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrating it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution Chairman Mao Tsetung correctly solved the series of fundamental problems concerning the seizure of political power by armed force, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of capitalist restoration in China

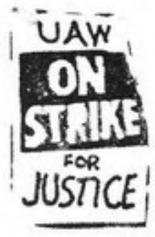
During the period of the New-Democratic Revolution, Chairman Mao analyzed Chinese history and existing conditions and the principal contradiction in Chinese society, correctly answered the questions of the targets, tasks, motive forces, character, perspectives and transformation of the New Democratic Revolution in China, and laid down the general line and general policy of our Party for that historical period, that is, the New-Democratic Revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat Chairman Mao pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in China could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road Summing up the historical experience of our Party Chairman Mao pointed out that the three principal magic weapons for the Chinese Communist Party to defeat the enemy in the Chinese Revolution were a Communist Party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, an army under the leadership of such a party, and a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a party Chairman Mao led our Party in using these three weapons to win the great victory of the New-Democratic Revolution and found the People's Republic of China The victory of the Chinese People's Revolution led by Chairman Mao changed the situation in the East and in the world, blazing a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people

In the new historical period of Socialist Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, Chairman Mao summed up both the positive and the negative experience of the international Communist movement, made a penetrating analysis of the class relations in socialist society by applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of the unity of opposites, and pointed out that the principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie For the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, put forward the thesis that in socialist society there are two different types of contradictions -- those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, and advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat Chairman Mao time and again admonished the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, "NEVER FORGET CLASS STRUGGLE " He pointed out that socialist society covers a considerably long historical period and that, throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration, and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, and established the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism In view of the changes in class relations and the characteristics of the class struggle in the period of socialism, Chairman Mao drew the scientific conclusion "YOU ARE MAKING THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, AND YET DON'T KNOW WHERE THE BOURGEOISIE IS IT IS RIGHT IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY -- THOSE IN POWER TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD THE CAPITALIST-ROADERS ARE STILL ON THE CAPITALIST ROAD " Repre-

(Cont p 5)

Cont from p 7

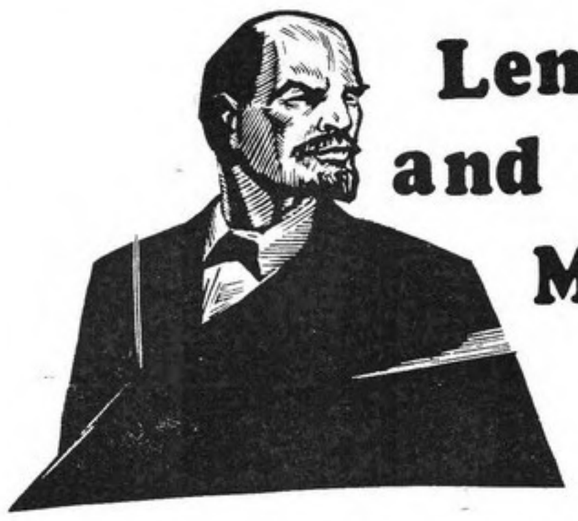
Auto Workers



This year, in 1976, the approach to the bargaining of the new contract which the UAW bureaucracy has taken has been summed up by chief bureaucrat Leonard Woodcock who has insisted that, "Our demands can be granted in a non-inflationary settlement based on Ford's immense profitability while at the same time allowing the company to keep the prices of its products down and still make sizeable sums for its investors " For Woodcock and the rest of the bureaucracy the agreement to be reached has as its phony aim, the elimination of "misunderstanding" and conflict on the basis of "mutual interests" It has as its sole goal the "sharing" of capitalist profits through the strengthening of the very relations of production which form the basis of the exploitation of the working class

Everything that auto workers have forced the bourgeoisie to concede over the years has been the result of rank and file militancy and willingness to struggle regardless of the desires of the opportunist UAW leadership This year the importance of maintaining and deepening the struggle against both the exploitation of the bourgeoisie and the opportunist collaboration of the union bureaucrats is underlined by the bourgeoisie's desperate need to shake off economic crisis For the auto industry the introduction of a new model year is crucial to the maintenance of profits This is reflected in the fact that auto makers, prior to the present strike, had established heavy production schedules for the rest of the year with an increase in overtime for assembly in October and November

For auto workers the settlement of a favorable contract through successful strike action is an immediate goal but one which must be linked to the long-range interests of the class For the working class a contract settlement should provide a basic defense against the economic attacks of the bourgeoisie while creating the conditions for the further strengthening and deepening of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie To achieve both these goals- both the immediate and long range- auto workers, like workers in the other major industries, must rely on their own initiative and ability to carry out independent action in opposition to the bourgeoisie's "recovery "



Lenin and the Trade Union Movement

By A LOSOVSKY

PART II

In order to get a clear conception of Lenin s views upon the labor movement of that period when a political and economic movement was gradually evolving out of it we must turn to his main work of that time written at the end of 1901 and at the beginning of 1902 the book entitled What Is to be Done? In the early part of the twentieth century we had within the Social Democratic Party two basic tendencies One the economists and another which could be briefly called the politicals The economists of that time put forward the following conception In the process of the economic struggle the labor movement produces a class conscious vanguard whose task consists of always keeping pace with the spontaneously developing mass economic movement and marching gradually and slowly onward with this movement that is limiting the labor movement to the tasks which the new spontaneous movement of the masses puts before it On the other hand the tendency of the politicals who had as their chief nucleus the Group for the Liberation of Labor together with the new the second generation of Russian Social Democrats and later the newspaper Iskra (The Spark) which was directed by Plekhanov Lenin Martov Deutch Vera Zasulich and Potresov (the association of these names sounds rather strange today) waged a determined relentless struggle against the economists against the degradation of the revolutionary struggle to its spontaneous aspect to use Lenin s expression In the polemic with the economists in the fight against the degradation of the struggle in the attempts to define the role and tasks of the few Social Democratic groups which represented class conscious nuclei there was formed and welded together that tendency which gave rise to the Bolshevist Party In his book What Is to be Done? Lenin raises the question of the relation between the element of consciousness and spontaneity in the labor movement

What on the whole were the tremendous strikes of the latter part of the nineties and the beginning of the 20th century which shook autocracy to its very foundation? They began by riots by spontaneous actions which were gradually adjusted to the every day demands of the workers involving an ever-increasing number of workers Thus the spontaneous movement of the working masses was developing into a struggle against the employers and later against the autocracy All these spontaneous actions dovetailed with the political line which was being developed both within the working masses and in those organizations of the revolutionary intelligencia who were working side by side and gradually lining up and welding themselves together with this spontaneous movement Lenin in fighting the economists came out sharply against the idea of trade unionism as preached by them For Lenin trade unionism was a movement limited by the frame-work of today a movement that does not step beyond the every day needs of the workers a craft movement a narrow sectional trade movement that does not pursue any general class political objectives This determined opposition to pure and simple trade unionism to the overestimation of spontaneity to the underestimation of conscious revolutionary action runs right through the entire pamphlet What Is to be Done? which was written during the period of intense struggle between the economists and the revolutionary section of the social democracy of that time

In order strongly to emphasize as he always did the necessity of creating a revolutionary party apparatus of consolidating the organized social Democratic groups Lenin sharply raised at that time when it was extremely difficult to create a mass organization the question of training revolutionary trade unionists Lenin had been accused of desiring to train a set of trade unionists who would be out of touch with the working class nevertheless with characteristic determination he continued at that time when it was necessary to build up the basic ranks of the party to follow his course and thanks to the determination with which he raised the question which was not so much a question of organization as a political issue thanks to the persistent stress which he laid upon the creation of a basic nucleus of the party we got those cells out of which the part ultimately developed

In this book Lenin also emphasized the necessity of the trade unions taking a neutral attitude towards the part Only later did he explain why he believed in the neutrality of the trade unions At that period when the party had not yet assumed organized shape when he had only spontaneous circles disconnected groups strike committees etc all such weakly organizations arising out of the economic struggle might have become in Lenin s opinion a drawback on the party itself might have influenced it too strongly whereas it was the role of the party to direct this spontaneous movement At that time the party was too small its circles were still very weak and in order to safeguard it to a certain extent against spontaneous pressure on the part of the economic groups whose standard of organization and class consciousness was still low Lenin advocated for that period the idea of neutrality You know of course that Lenin in later years was opposed to the neutrality of the trade unions Yet at the dawn of the Russian labor movement when he first took a stand on this question he assumed as you see a different position Later as the labor movement grew as the tremendous strike wave of 1904 coupled with the Russo-Japanese war as the mass movement of 1905 when all of Russia was in the throes of a revolutionary conflagration which culminated in the first revolution and when this rapid development of the revolutionary process brought its changes into the labor movement itself brought a rapid intensification of revolutionary conflicts the party was compelled to assume a new position on the trade union question

It should be pointed out that in 1905 the attitude to be assumed by the party towards the various issues of the trade union movement was still unclear I remember personally that in 1905 while participating in the Bolshevist conference of the Volga provinces at Samara I advocated the affiliation of the unions to the party At that time the very problem of the trade union movement was mere theory to us but as the labor movement grew as the trade unions multiplied in number and the primary mutual aid funds and societies began to develop into all sorts of shapeless trade unions with different constitutions different forms of organization etc it became necessary to give a more concrete answer to the question What must be the attitude of the Social Democratic Party (as our party was then called) towards the trade union movement Here we see that in 1907 in his preface to the book Twelve Years Lenin wrote that his opponents including Plekhanov had attempted for a long time to give a basis to their differences with him on the question of the spontaneous and the conscious but Plekhanov s criticism Lenin says is clearly of a captious character and is based upon disconnected phrases and separate sentences which are not very precisely formulated Thus while there was no precise formulation on the question of the relations between the spontaneous and the conscious Lenin admitted that on the question of neutrality he had really held an erroneous opinion In the same preface Lenin writes I advocated at that time when I wrote What Is to be Done? the neutrality of the trade unions Since then I have not contrary to the claims of my opponents repudiated this idea either in pamphlets or in newspaper articles Only the London Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress forced me to the conclusion that the neutrality of the trade unions cannot be championed in principle (emphasized by Lenin) We thus see that with the growth of the labor movement with the formation and consolidation of the social democracy Lenin began to see the question of trade union neutrality with greater clarity which he admitted himself

PART III Next issue of UNITE!

Cont from p 7

UMW Convention

The right to strike, more rank and file control over selection of UMW staffers, less power in the hands of the president, and, most importantly, a change in leadership have become the over-riding issues of this convention, all of which are aimed at significantly changing the present state of the union Rank and file militancy, which has forced Miller to enter the convention floor only under the protection of a bodyguard, has achieved substantial success in these areas

-A resolution has been passed favoring specific contract language giving a majority of the members of a local the right to strike during a contract term

-Safety coordinators will now be elected to their jobs instead of being appointed by Miller

-A motion to set up disciplinary procedures for leaders of wildcats was defeated

-The next election of international officers has been moved up and will take place the second Tuesday of June 1977, rather than November

Seeking to catch a free ride on this demonstration of rank and file power Trbovich and Patrick, both of whom won their offices as part of the Miller reform leadership, have begun their electioneering for the union presidency Those opportunist forces are attempting to dull the sharpness of the lessons learned as a result of Miller's policies and are pushing themselves off as "genuine" leaders of working miners Most working miners, however, will not soon forget that these "genuine" leaders have also opposed the taking up of militant struggle against the companies, opposed rank and file strike power in opposition to the courts, and, like Arnold Miller, have argued that "cooperation and guaranteed productivity" are the best means of winning demands from the capitalists of the coal industry

The 1972 election of Miller has by now make it plain that to replace an old reactionary bureaucrat with a new reactionary bureaucrat is not going to change a thing either in the UMW or for the working class as a whole The developing election struggle must not be allowed to become a contest between competing bureaucrats The power of the rank and file, so strongly felt at the present convention, must see to it that these reactionaries and fakers are replaced with real representatives of the working class-class conscious, capable, and willing to lead miners in the struggle against capitalism and for socialism ❖❖❖

FORGE THE VANGUARD PARTY - GRASP THE KEY LINK

The class struggle in the U S , and the struggle to build a genuine communist party to lead the struggle, is characterized at present by the continued separation of the workers' and communist movements The task of concentrating communist forces in the industrial proletariat has not been seriously taken up "Left-sectarianism" infects the communist movement, that is, focusing on disputes among communists to the point of failing to take communism to the masses, the failure or even refusal to *fuse* the workers and communist movements

One very prevalent manifestation of this situation is the current debate and confusion in the communist movement over the question of "key link" Those who have been busiest in sowing the confusion are the various organizations who are or have been "members" of the so-called "revolutionary wing", presently represented by the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers' Organization(PRRWO), and the Revolutionary Workers' League (RWL), but also including the recent former members of the Wing, Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) and the August Twenty-Ninth Movement(ATM) these latter two share the essence of the wing's line which is that "Political line is the key link"

The Wing says that "political line is the key link" in party building at the present time, and that the party building movement necessarily goes through a definite series of distinct "periods" or "stages" in which either "ideological tasks", "political tasks", or "organizational tasks" become the "key link" characterizing . the given stage This position has led the Wing to insist that we cannot take up organizational tasks yet because we have not yet entered that "stage", and that we have essentially completed our ideological tasks and therefore any attempt to raise ideological questions amounts to "holding back" the party building movement by returning to the "previous stage" The Wing identifies the development of political line with the development of the Party Program But while the Wing itself has done very little to help develop political line on the major questions facing the workers' and communist movements and has done virtually nothing toward developing a Party Program, even attacking every attempt by other Marxist-Leninists to take up joint work on the Party Program, they, nevertheless judge whether or not any organization is a "genuine" Marxist-Leninist organization according to whether or not that organization recognizes that "political line is the key link", raising this question to the central position in party building

The multinational proletariat in the U S has three strategic tasks to take up in order to carry out its revolution and seize power away from the imperialists, setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to build classless communist society

(1) the proletariat must constitute itself into a political party independent of the bourgeoisie,

(2) the proletariat must lead the broad laboring masses in a united struggle against imperialism, that is, it must orient and organize the people's struggle against capital, and

(3) the proletariat must wage an armed revolutionary war against the capitalist state-power

The key link that will move this revolutionary chain forward, the one, central, task that must be accomplished before any significant headway can be made in the other two, is the task of forging the vanguard communist party of the proletariat Work must go on in all three spheres, but the party is the one that ties them all together, that leads the way, and that lays the foundation for success in the other two This is why we say that party building is our central task and is the key link in the revolutionary chain, the one link that we must grasp at this time in order to possess the whole chain Party building involves breaking with bourgeois interest and the bourgeois stand, with Modern Revisionism, represented in this country mainly by the CPUSA, ideologically, politically, and organizationally, *in the course of fusing the workers' and communist movements*

The essence of party building is the fusion of the workers' and communist movements According to the development of that process of breaking with the bourgeoisie and with revisionism and fusing with the working-class movement, various tasks of an ideological, political or organizational character come to the fore and become "key" to laying the foundations for further development of the all-around work But these three aspects of our work are not related to one another as stages which occur one after another and only occur once, they must all be carried out simultaneously around all aspects of the work of building the party, the work of building a united front against imperialism and leading the mass revolutionary struggle, and the work of conducting armed revolutionary war To present ideology, politics, and organization as stages in our work as the Wing does, is to mechanically separate them from one another

The error of the Wing is not so much that they raise a "tactical" question to a "strategic" question, or in some other way apply the term "key link" to the wrong level of tasks The error is in seeing party building as a mechanical succession of tasks only among communists, divorced from the workers' movement They *say* that party building is a question of the fusion of the workers' and communist movements but then why have they not concentrated in the industrial centers of steel, auto, coal, etc in the industrial heartland or the Black Belt South or the Southwest? Why do they ignore the absolutely critical task of building factory nuclei of communists, the main material basis for the fusion of the workers' movement and the communist movement? Why do they call themselves multi-national communist organizations while maintaining their basically one-national-minority composition?
Why do they seek to split over formulations like recognition of political line as the key link rather than seeking to unite with other Marxist-Leninists in the struggle against imperialism, where opportunism will only truly be defeated?

Why do they conduct themselves in public forums in a violent and vulgar, hysterical manner, a manner that can only alienate workers from the communist movement? It is because they have constructed a mechanical diagram of party building and are concentrating on immediate goals defined by that diagram

A review of the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party and the Communist Party of China reveals that Lenin, Stalin, and the Chinese comrades all use "key link" on *both* the strategic and the tactical levels, but what runs like a red thread throughout is that all these comrades use the term "key link" as a metaphor to refer to *that one task to which everything else is subordinated, the one orientation which guides all the work, the one factor that must be grasped in order for the whole revolutionary chain to move forward* At one time, the organization of an all-Russian revolutionary newspaper was that one indispensible task (Lenin, WHAT IS TO BE DONE?, Chapter V), at another time it was the development of domestic trade between town and country under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union (Stalin, FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM, Chapter VII), in China it is the basic line of the Party that is the key link (A BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, Shanghai, 1974, Chapter IV) This last example is entirely consistent, by the way, with the present campaign in China to "take class struggle as the key link" *instead of* the development of production After all, the basic line of the Communist Party of China, the line that guides all the work of socialist construction, is that class struggle continues throughout the period of the transition from capitalism to communism Chairman Mao's point in insisting that "class struggle is the key link" was that Teng Hsiao-ping had deviated from the basic line of the Party

It is no accident that the Wing applies the concept "key link" in a very narrow way, that they concentrate on processes within the communist movement itself, that they confuse political line with the Party Program, that they fail to take up the task of building a solid base among the industrial proletariat and the oppressed nationalities these together are a reflection of their basic inability to put the final goals in the forefront The final goal is communism, what's required for that is proletarian revolution, what's holding that back is the lack of a vanguard party of the proletariat the formation of that party, the fusion of the workers' and communist movements, is the key link in our revolutions

The significance of the Wing's concentration on immediate goals is that it is a "left"-sectarian version of the remnants of Modern Revisionism within the party building movement The "old" revisionism of the 19th century said that "the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing " Modern, Khruschehevite revisionism insists that the final goal is already contained within every petty reform, it even goes so far as to claim that communism has already been achieved in the Soviet Union!

The "left-sectarianism" of the Wing, the endless, sterile debates over words, the failure to take communism to the masses, amounts to the same old revisionist refusal to lead the working class to revolution The degeneration of the Wing organizations is a reality that is independent of the will of the members of the Wing, but it is an inevitable expression of the line that is reflected in "political line is the key link" and that grows out of the confusion of long-term aims with short-term gains. And this confusion is a major part of the essence of Modern Revisionism

We used to think that the difference between our saying that "political line is key" and the Wing's saying "political line is the key link" was simply a confusion of words, a minor matter of forms of expression But the practice of the Wing, its degeneration into sectarian squabbles, its failure to take up the task of concentration in the industrial proletariat and the task of fusion -- these have shown that it's not the words but the thing that's being talked about that is the heart of the matter

We even think our formulation of "political line is key" is a rather clumsy one and in the first issue of UNITE! we held that "theoretical form of work was the main link" Since that time we have maintained that party building is the key link and that the essence of party building is the fusion of the workers' and communist movements, and we have taken planned and definite steps to help bring about that fusion The thrust of our thought and practice has always been different from the Wing's The similarity of our formulation on political line is due to remnants of the mechanical view of the periods of party building, a view that had its origins during the time of the break between the Revolutionary Union on the one hand and the Black Workers' Congress and PRRWO on the other hand, a time when we were all struggling for a more systematic understanding of the process of party building The difference has become clearer more recently, since PRRWO and RWL have begun to say that "party building is the *only* task" as well as being the central task This view, combined with their narrow and mechanical view of party building, clearly cannot guide communists toward a fusion with the working class

The basic error on this question is that of failing to keep a firm materialist grasp on what it is that we are doing We are engaged in a political struggle a struggle between classes for power It is essential for this that in the course of the class struggle a break be made with bourgeois class interest Out of the motion of making that break one divides into two the break with bourgeois interest and with its revisionist cloak within our movement finds its expression necessarily in political line and organizational form. Every advanced worker must go through that ideological break but that break necessarily expresses itself as matter in motion (organization) in certain direction (political line) That is why it is impossible to be a Marxist-Leninist and remain "independent" And that is why it is impossible to hold a revisionist ideological and political line and yet have a democratic-centralist organization that stands in a Bolshevik relationship to the working class The whole question of party building has been taken up in the last ten years or so in a way that too often forgets to ask the question "A party for whom?" For us communists or for the masses?

The communist movement exists for no other reason than to serve the struggle of the working class to overthrow the bourgeoisie and build communism, a society without exploitation of man by man When we forget this fundamental point we inevitably get sucked into the idealist game of a delicate balancing of concepts instead of paying attention to the material requirements of the revolution

National Oppression & RESISTANCE!

SHARPEN STRUGGLE AGAINST NATIONAL CHAUVINISM

HOW THE PHILADELPHIA WORKERS' ORGANIZING COMMITTEE RENDERS THE CPUSA MORE PROFOUND

"We do not shrink with embarrassment because we hold the position that Black people are a national minority in common with the CPUSA In point of fact the revisionists are not wrong in regarding Black people as a national minority As we have seen, science is on the side of this formulation and the plain facts can only embarrass our dogmatists It is infantile to think that every formulation of the revisionists is incorrect " (BLACK LIBERATION AGAINST DOGMATISM ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION), Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee, p 59-60)

These are the words of the Philadelphia Workers' Organizing Committee (PWOC) in concluding their position on the dissolution of the Black Nation Their fundamentally national chauvinist and imperialist stand on the Black National Question is a mirror image of that put forward by both the CPUSA and the Soviet social imperialists toward the nations oppressed within their boundaries, and represents a thoroughly revisionist position

Holdovers of the bankrupt, consolidated right opportunist program of the CPUSA are still readily apparent on most questions Indeed, the influence of modern revisionism has been a major factor in holding back the ability of the communist movement to advance a revolutionary program, while at the same time, raising the vigilance of communists to its ideological roots and consequences, and serving to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist line through struggle

Historically, the position of communists on the Black National Question has been of major importance to the revolutionary nature of the party As we have seen in the experience of the CPUSA, when the party upheld the right of self-determination for the Black Nation, when it conducted intense and comprehensive work in the Black communities in and outside the Black Belt, and when it struggled against national chauvinism in the ranks of the party itself, the integrity of the party was sound And when the party began to put forward the revisionist line on the peaceful transition to socialism through the progressive nature of US imperialism, all other lines of the party followed suit The basis of opportunism and national chauvinism on the Black National Question was laid initially by the CPUSA On the one hand there are the centrists, who posture as being "left", such as the 'Wing', WVO, and others, but who in essence are Right This form of national chauvinism has the right of self-determination on its lips, but exposes the opportunism in its heart by never developing a position or plan of action to lead the Black liberation movement or to build multi-national unity Consolidated right opportunism has been carried on faithfully in the positions of the New American Movement, the Communist Labor Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, the Progressive Labor Party, Harry Chang, and now by the PWOC The position of the PWOC is but a modern-day version of the same revisionist line, cloaked as such lines always are, in the appearance of Marxism-Leninism

The identity between the line of the PWOC and that of the CPUSA on the Black National Question is starkly clear *In the context of revisionism on the national question, revisionists and imperialists alike are aiming for the destruction of the national liberation movements and the triumph of socialism The national chauvinist position of the PWOC must be thoroughly exposed and defeated in the spirit of resolutely defeating, once and for all, all opportunism as traitorous to the interests of the working class and oppressed peoples*

The positions of both the PWOC and the CPUSA start from a distortion of the nature of imperialism and end with the liquidation of the national question The CPUSA's line on the Black National Question results directly from their position on the international situation, and their failure to recognize the class nature of imperialism Fundamentally, the CPUSA's analysis does not get beyond the realm of the objective factor It concentrates on the development of the forces of production and ignores its reflection in conscious actions by the masses of working people This theory ignores class struggle, which is in fact, the motive force of the development of society

Common to all revisionist theories on the National Question is the denial of the class struggle Marxism-Leninism teaches us that as long as capitalism exists in most of the world, the amalgamation of nations cannot take place In the socialist countries the class struggle continues both internally, and through external pressure exerted by the capitalist countries In the capitalist countries, the exploitation and oppression of the working class, oppressed nations, and national minorities domestically, is the order of the day, while the imperialist bourgeoisie make every attempt to gain control of possessions internationally and especially to defeat the dictatorship of the proletariat where it exists

Errors are common in many honest theoretical statements They are errors which stand in opposition and contrast to the basic line that is being put forward However, *when an important question such as the Black National Question is dismissed in such a way as the PWOC has, we must be vigilant toward all aspects of the line Such national chauvinism toward the Black liberation struggle, and such collaboration with the interests of the bourgeoisie are not small mistakes, but representative of the bourgeois world outlook on all questions*

The CPUSA was developing their "theory" on the international situation during the early '40's, simultaneous with WWII and with the rapid industrialization of the US economy National minorities entered production on a large scale According to the CPUSA, *it was the motion of the productive forces, namely industrialization, which was supplying the material basis for the proletarianization of Blacks, and the end of their national oppression Through industrialization, Blacks were 'integrated' into the working class as a whole They no longer had special exploitation outside that suffered by the working class generally, and therefore, there was no longer a national question*

For precisely this reason, the CPUSA then proceeded to discontinue its work among Blacks in the trade unions, Black community organizations, and in the national liberation movement, thus consolidating its liquidationist position in practice

The PWOC holds an integrationist theory on the Black National Question, like the CPUSA The PWOC's entire position is underlined by the failure to grasp class struggle as the motive force of historical development They do not see the national question as a class question, but view it apart from the class struggle. They see the development of society absent of its division into classes or the interests of the class in power

According to the PWOC, the material basis for the existence of the Black Nation was the plantation However, they say that the Black Nation did not actually come into being until the development of classes among Blacks brought about economic cohesion, the characteristic of the nation that had been missing up until then This supposedly occurred with the defeat of slavery during the Civil War

This is incorrect on several counts First of all, the position that the PWOC holds on the material basis of the Black Nation as being the plantation is totally anti-Marxist-Leninist *Marxism-Leninism holds that the basis of the Agrarian Question is the question of land ownership, not the form of exploitation and oppression* The plantation was only one historically developed form of deriving surplus value After the defeat of the southern aristocracy, this form was changed to meet more directly the interests of the northern bourgeoisie However, this new form, mainly share cropping, did not in the least alter the content of the Agrarian Question, but rather only served to bring the Black Belt South under the fold of rising northern finance capital Secondly, classes among Blacks existed prior to the Civil War But most importantly, the formation of classes does not determine whether or not a nation exists Economic cohesion or common economic life do not imply that there is an independent, developed class structure In fact, a nation oppressed by rising imperialism need not, and usually cannot develop its own independent economy Under imperialism it is typical for the economic life of the imperialist to be imposed on the oppressed nation Such is the case in the Black Nation

One of the first duties of Marxist-Leninists is to consistantly expose the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie, in every stage of the revolutionary struggle, and in every single instance There is no place for liberalism with the bourgeoisie Our failure to expose them is at the expense of the working class and oppressed peoples

The PWOC holds that the Black Nation existed at the time of the 1928 and 1930 Comintern Resolutions, *but that the material conditions for nationhood changed over the next period with the disintegration of the plantation system They say that as a result of industrialization, the formerly rural peasantry was transformed into a predominantly urban proletariat The Black Nation was dissolved and the Black people were dispersed* Thus the PWOC liquidates the Black National Question This position is clearly only a slight variation of the integrationist position of the CPUSA, and the liberal bourgeoisie

The Marxist-Leninist position as put forward in the 1928 and 1930 Comintern Resolutions, holds that the disintegration of the plantation system was a process which occurred as a result of the strengthening of capitalism, and the needs of the rising bourgeois class to make maximum profits The plantation system was dated in its agricultural techniques and had the effect of holding the rest of the economy back It was a necessary step in the interests of consolidating capitalism in the U.S It is true that at this time, the rise of the capitalist class was dependent upon the rapid industrialization in the U S However, capitalism did not dissolve the Black Nation, nor did it end national oppression It intensified it The capitalist class found the most efficient means of maximizing profits by maintaining certain aspects of the plantation system, and incorporating them into the rapidly expanding and industrialized economic system Speaking to this point precisely, the 1930 Comintern Resolution says

> "In so far as industry is developed here, it will in no way bring a solution to the question of living conditions of the oppressed Negro majority, or to the agrarian question, which lies at the basis of the national question On the contrary, this question is still further aggravated as a result of the increase of the contradictions arising from the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation of the Negro peasantry and of a considerable portion of the Negro proletariat (miners, forestry workers, etc) in the Black Belt, and at the same time owing to the industrial development here, the growth of the most important driving force of the national revolution, the Black working class, is especially strengthened " (UNITE' V1, #1, p 15)

The liquidation of the Black National Question by the PWOC represents a serious problem for the movement, not because the Black National Question is in fact liquidated, but because it means that revisionism on the national question is yet to be defeated

According to the PWOC, along with industrialization came the dispersal of Blacks from the Black Belt South They say that Blacks were not forced off the land during the rapid industrialization of the U S , they left

voluntarily Blacks supposedly chose to become proletarians because it was a real improvement in living conditions, and was an inevitable and progressive step forward

The PWOC states that through their proletarianization and voluntary dispersal Blacks have been assimilated into the country as a whole (ibid pp 40-45) Anywhere in the U S it is obvious that Blacks have not been assimilated into the country as a whole If Blacks have been assimilated, why is busing in Boston an issue? Why are most of the inmates on death row in South Carolina prisons Black? And why was there a civil rights movement in the sixties?

It is because Blacks have *not* been assimilated into the country as whole Outside the Black Belt Nation Blacks are an oppressed national minority because of the existance of the oppressed Black Nation This is why Blacks outside the Black Nation have much to gain in their struggle for democratic rights by supporting the right of the Black Nation to self-determination The fate of all Blacks in the U S is tied to the liberation of the Black Nation

The PWOC has arrived at their position on the basis of distortion of reality, to fit bourgeois interest, including the almost total omission of the national liberation movements, because,

> "A nation that has been dissolved and assimilated, not surprisingly, does not think like a nation " (ibid, p 40)

The PWOC goes so far as to say that Black people do not see the Black Belt South as their "historic homeland", and that Blacks do not see self-determination as a means to end their oppression!

This flies in the face of years of struggle of the national liberation movement The struggle for self-determination has been raised countless times by many Blacks that are not Marxist-Leninists Perhaps the PWOC does not think that such people as Malcolm X are capable or worthy of leading the struggle for self-determination of the Black Nation *We are convinced that the Black people themselves will not wait for the blessings of the PWOC in their great struggle for national liberation*

Yet the PWOC is very sure that the struggle for self-determination represents narrow nationalism and separatism of the Black bourgeoisie, and must be crushed (ibid, p 47)

On the contrary, what must be crushed is the blatantly national chauvinist and right opportunist position of the PWOC! As communists we support politically and materially those national liberation movements which objectively undermine and weaken imperialism We do not determine on the basis of shallow and incomplete investigation, whether a nation really is a nation, or if its struggle for self-determination is revolutionary Furthermore, we do not belittle the national liberation struggles that are waged by the people of an oppressed nation or oppressed national minority, as the PWOC does when it says that the Black liberation movement has historically been weak

The theory of revisionism is that imperialism has developed to a new stage, that further developments in the world have given rise to a qualitatively different alignment between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations We have heard of the "new stage" of the Soviet revisionists, the RCP,USA's "nation of a new type", and the CPUSA's and PWOC's new type of progressive and democratic monopoly capitalism which can dissolve the Black Nation through industrialization

The purpose of falsely declaring that the international situation has developed to a new stage is two-fold To begin with the revisionists must confuse and deceive the masses, nations, and oppressed national minorities into thinking that the class struggle is over This is done by twisting objective reality in order to lay the basis for their imperialist needs, all the while being careful to express it in Marxist-Leninist terminology

The most important reason, of course, is to carry out the oppression of those same people The Soviet social-imperialists, for example, have done exactly this While masquerading as a socialist country and developing the trust of the working class and toiling masses internationally, the Soviet revisionists have meanwhile begun the imperialist plunder and the subjugation of nations within its borders

The Soviet revisionists say that they are in the stage of the construction of classless society, where national differences have disappeared to the point where the nations and nationalities are merged into one great communist people

What really goes on, however, is the repeated or continued subjugation of nations and national minorities Typical is the *intrusion* of the great nation's economy, culture, and/or military onto an oppressed nation or national minority *while the imperialists declare that they are accepted voluntarily*

It is not surprising to learn that the PWOC does not recognize the Soviet Union as an imperialist country This is no 'accident' or 'coincidence' *It is because there is no real difference in the world outlook, political line or social practice of the PWOC and the Soviet revisionists The line of the PWOC in state power would lead to the same oppression and exploitation of nations as exists in the USSR today Both the PWOC and the CPSU are vultures from the same flock, only the Soviet revisionists are perched in state power, while the fledgling PWOC trails along behind the CPUSA and the US imperialists, picking at the carrion they have left in their path*

Those "Marxist-Leninists" that would aim to crush the struggle for self-determination of the Black Nation are objectively supporting and defending US imperialism They are supporting the imperialist bourgeoisie at the expense of the national liberation movement

The only difference between revisionism and outright imperialism, is that revisionism disguises itself as Marxism-Lenin ism This so-called friend of the people has every intention of maintaining the bourgeois order while continuing to oppress nations and national minorities

The extinction of nations and national distinctions takes place over a protracted period of time and on the basis of their strengthening and flourishing Nations are not oppressed out of existence This is why it is fundamentally incorrect for the Soviet social-imperialists to declare that the nations and national minorities have merged into a single people This is why it is fundamentally incorrect for the PWOC to declare that the oppressed Black Nation has dissolved, that Black people have voluntarily dispersed and been assimilated into the people as a whole, right here in the heartland of imperialism!

Comrades, the imperialists and revisionists will do what they can to prevent us from seizing state power in the United States We will meet class collaborationists at every bend in the road - in the trade unions, social-democratic organizations, among the electoral candidates, and in state power We must expose and defeat them tirelessly

And we must establish a clear understanding once and for all on such positions as PWOC's, *anyone who sets out to disprove the actuality of a nation and to liquidate support for that national movement does more to aid the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself* And, further, that it is not enough to understand this position It must be crushed Not because the PWOC creates a problem in the mass movement, as they basically have no mass ties, but because *it is the line of the bourgeoisie within our own midst*

We see that the line on the Black National Question put forward over thirty years ago by the CPUSA still emerges in the movement This represents a failure of Marxist-Leninists to carefully study the errors of the US revisionist party, and revisionist parties around the world, so that we may forge a vanguard party along genuinely revolutionary lines The failure to defeat opportunism, especially right opportunism, on the questions of the revolutionary movement is holding back the building of a vanguard communist party, which is essentially a question of the fusion of the communist and working class movements Without a clear Leninist position on the Black National Question the forging of multi-national unity will be impossible, as will the seizure of state power The line of modern revisionism which the PWOC holds will lead to social-fascism and social imperialism if in state power This is what is at stake, and is why this line must be liquidated from our movement

★★★

LYNCHING IN BLACK BELT SOUTH

The following article is the third and last part of a pamphlet by Harry Haywood and Milton Howard called, LYNCHING A WEAPON OF NATIONAL OPPRESSION Parts one and two of this pamphlet appeared in UNITE', Vol 2, No 3 and Vol 2, No 4

Laws Against Lynching

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People prides itself on the fact that it fights lynching by collecting signatures for the Dyer Anti Lynching Law We are told by **both our Negro and white "friends" that lynching can be abolished by simply passing laws**

Anti lynching laws have been passed in a number of states Virginia has a law for the 'dispersal of mobs" The only time it was used was to break up a picket line of textile strikers **at** Danville Georgia passed an anti lynching law in 1893 It provides for one to 20 years imprisonment for any one guilty of "mobbing or lynching a citizen *without due process of law*" This law actually provides legal protection for lynchers *No one has ever been convicted under this law, although Georgia has had at least 600 lynchings since the law was passed*

North Carolina has a law providing for fines against lynchers who break into jails After the law was passed lynch gangs simply seized their victims before they could be imprisoned, and thus evaded the "law"

Some states, like West Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, Tennessee, Ohio, and Nebraska have laws which provide for the payment of damages to relatives But since, in all these states, the grand juries and the courts refuse to act, the laws are dead letters State anti lynching laws have not prevented lynching *More than 1,000 lynchings have taken place in these states since the laws were passed*

By dangling the illusion that lynching can be stopped by such laws—even a federal one—the NAACP tries to divert the Negro workers from an energetic struggle against lynching It asks them to rest their faith in those very state officials and in the very ruling class which organizes, perpetuates and defends lynch law

Courthouse Lynchings

What can be expected from the courts and the state is shown only too clearly by the number of lynchings that have taken place under the cover of "due process of law" As in every phase of life, even the system of justice, too, the Negro does not even get the chance that the white worker gets, as little as that may be On the basis of the "rape" lie seven of the nine Scottsboro boys now (Jul , 1932) await execution in the electric chair Only the world wide mass protest of the international working class has saved them from the electric chair lynching and forced the Supreme Court of the United States to agree to review their case

Four unemployed Negro workers, Robert Strickland and **Percy Irvin, are electrocuted in Alabama for *stealing 50 cents*** **In the North, too, the "rape" lie is used in an effort to bring about the legal lynching of 17 year old Willie Brown of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

What is behind all this legal lynching? The answer has been given by Governor Ross Sterling of Texas In January of 1932, Barney Lee Ross, Negro boy, was executed after a trial which took less than two hours In denying stay of execution the Governor said, in words which no worker, Negro or white, should ever forget

It may be that this boy is innocent, but it is sometimes necessary to burn down a house in order to save a village

This statement bazenly admits two things First, that Negro workers who "may be innocent" are being murdered not for any crimes, but to "save a village" What is this "village" which the Governor is trying to save? Obviously, it is the whole system of robbery, starvation, Jim Crowism, and lynching—the capitalist system

The second thing which this southern ruler admits is that the whole government, including judges and governors, is a conscious part of the terrorist campaign against the Negro masses, particularly during the present general crisis

The Fight Against Lynching

In the "race riots" after the last World-War—when Negro soldiers returned from a jim crowed army demanding those equal rights promised them by President Wilson and W E B DuBois—the ruling class whipped up lynch law on a mass scale in the North to keep the Negro "where he belonged" They were race riots, and not mass lynchings, only because the Negroes defended themselves and fought back

Today, in the midst of a crisis which spreads starvation and mass suffering among all workers, and when a new world war is being prepared, the unity of black and white workers grows rapidly It is this unity of black and white workers, struggling against their common enemy—the white bosses and their "Uncle Toms" —which will in the end sweep away all Jim Crow lines and destroy the system of class and national oppression The militant fight for Negro rights, participated in by growing sections of the white workers, is giving the lie to the slander of the "race leaders" that the white workers are the enemies of the Negroes

Already on one sixth of the world, in the Soviet Union, the workers and peasants have established their own government They have liberated all the oppressed nationalities which groaned under the capitalist lash of the tsars Today in the Soviet Union 132 peoples which formerly were taught to hate or mistrust one

cont p. 15

AZANIA - Victory Is Certain !

For four months the struggle of the Azanian people has raged without interruption against the ruthless racist rule of the reactionary South African authorities. The South African ruling class has mercilessly plundered the Azanian people for decades. The "Union of South Africa" was founded in 1910 as a move to consolidate the interests of imperialism in Southern Africa Ever since its founding it has been a fortress of reaction, serving the needs of whichever power held sway over its economy Today that power is U.S imperialism, as Kissinger's recent trip has made so clear. Ford's ordering of the recent "African shuttle" was not for election-time points with the Black voters of the United States, although it may have had this side benefit The main purpose of Kissinger's trip was to consolidate U.S presence in Southern Africa in the face of the maneuvers of Soviet social-imperialism in the last few years.

Fascism has been the main domestic rule of the South African regime, which has been given the name of Apartheid, as a way of shading over its real essence. Since the coming to power of Vorster, some one hundred acts and regulations of racist discrimination have been put into practice These acts and regulations have haunted the lives of the broad masses of Azanian people in political, economic, cultural, and other fields of social life, reducing them to slaves deprived of all rights and freedoms Under the notorious "Racial Segregation Acts" more than 16 million Africans-rightful masters of the land of Azania- have been herded to the poor and scattered "reserves" which occupy only 13% of the land area. As a result less than four million whites possess more than 70% of the country's land, including fertile land, all cities, and all industrial centers

Throughout the country the life of the Azanian worker is not much better than a prisoner's. Wages are incredibly low while the workers must leave the "reserves" in order to get employment, leaving their families behind At the same time the cost of living for the Azanian people is no less than for anyone else In South Africa the people have a saying, "We get paid Black, but must buy white "

In mid-June, fused by the student protests against the use of Afrikaans(the language of the white ruling class) in African schools, a mammoth struggle of the Black and colored people (of mixed or Indian heritage)erupted against these racist atrocities This struggle quickly spread from one African settlement to another until three out of four of the provinces of South Africa have become embroiled in the flames of the just protest of the Azanian people Involving at first several thousand students and later hundreds of thousands of workers, students and people of other walks of life, this struggle is unprecedented in terms of duration, geographical area and mass participation.

On August 6, Black students in the Soweto township of Johannesburg waged sharp battles with the police, while the previous two days saw 25,000 Black people demonstrating against the continued use of force and the refusal to release Black students arrested in mid-June By August 12 this had escalated to the fiercest struggle since the June demonstrations In the three main African townships of Langa, Nyanga, and Guguletu near Cape Town, thousands of Black students and workers clashed with the fascist police forces The police fired at the demonstrators who hurled stones and bottles at police vehicles and buildings, setting some ablaze At least 17 Black people were killed and over 50 injured

By August 23 through 25, 100,000 workers in Soweto staged an impressive strike against the Vorster regime, whose focus was the release of the students arrested in mid-June, and the extension on August 9th of the detention sections of the "Internal Security Act" by Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, to the whole of South Africa Before this the detention sections only were applicable in the Transvaal province where most whites live

As struggle inside South Africa was increasing, the troubles for the Vorster regime have also been on the rise in Namibia, which South Africa illegally occupies Attempting to consolidate its hold on Southwest Africa for the interests of imperialism, the Vorster regime held a "Constitutional Conference" in Namibia designed to give legitimacy to their fascist occupation. The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) was purposely not invited to this conference in an attempt to divide the various liberation movements in South West Africa from one another.

At the same time, the people of Zimbabwe (called Rhodesia by the ruling clique of Ian Smith) have been increasing the pressure on the Vorster-Smith duo who have been panic-stricken by the recent developments in all of Southern Africa, which have clearly pointed to the fact that white-minority rule is near its end God-father Gerald Ford sent Henry shuttling back and forth across Europe and then Southern Africa, to give Vorster and Smith "an offer they couldn't refuse " Such is the honor amongst thieves and butchers of imperialism US imperialism has given a little to take a lot in its contention with Soviet social-imperialism Black majority rule, as set up by the US State Department, is designed to undermine the liberation movements in Southern Africa, by placing Black faces in high places. In the course of their struggle the people of Southern Africa have come to see clearly that it is a sinister scheme of the enemy to make "Africans fight Africans" -- to sow dissension among them, sabotage their unity and divert their struggle from its ultimate goal

The people of Southern Africa are increasing their revolutionary strength and have set a course for their complete liberation. The people of Azania will form a revolutionary army for national liberation, as have the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe, so as to fight against the racist rule. The reactionary nature of the Vorster fascist regime will never change, nor will they quit the stage of history on their own accord The only way to deal with the regime is to oppose counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence Victory and political power grows out of the barrel of a gun -- this is a historical lesson learned by the people of Southern Africa at the cost of their own blood

The people of Azania have also become increasingly aware of the grave threat to them posed by the two Superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism As a leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania recently pointed out "No country was ever liberated by external forces. .The Azanian people have the will and capability to free themselves." The bloody suppression has only aroused more courageous and strong resistance, with up to 70% of the work force in some areas out on strike The present development of the struggle conclusively shows that the people of Azania do not fear Vorster's armed suppression but instead only become mobilized into a more determined army.

With the support of the Organization of African Unity, the people of the rest of Africa and the entire world, the struggles in Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania will bring the downfall of the racist, fascist regimes of Southern Africa. These national liberation movements have formed an irresistable revolutionary current which will sweep aside these vestiges from the old order and establish final victory for the people of Southern Africa, Azania and the whole of Africa

END TO THE APARTHEID SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLES OF AZANIA, NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE!

BUILD THE ALSC !

The sixties showed a sharpening of the contradiction between dying and decaying-capitalism, and the revolutionary struggles of the workers, oppressed nations and people of the world During the sixties, the whole world was in chaos While the liberation struggles of the African people were growing by leaps and bounds, the Civil Rights movement was taking place within the Black Nation in the U S Internationally, the struggle long waged by the people of Southeast Asia held center stage, and was reflected in the anti-war movement in this country There existed an almost complete lack of knowledge on the part of the U S people about the role of U S imperialism in Africa

The African Liberation Support Committee(ALSC) went a long way in supplying some of that knowledge, and filling in some of the gaps by bringing the general level of understanding of Africa into political struggles The ALSC gathered information about Africa and brought the voices of the African people themselves to the U S , presenting speeches, slide shows, and forums They raised money and collected clothing to send to the various liberation movements The ALSC was large responsible for exposing the nature of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, the role of NATO and the U S corporations But most importantly the ALSC mobilized and organized people to actively support the African liberation movements The first African Liberation Day was held on May 26, 1972 and turned out more than 50,000 people across the country

Like all things, the ALSC is riddled with contradictions This is mostly seen in the lack of a clear guiding political line and policy throughout the ALSC chapters, which instead carry out work on the basis of each of their particular local political outlooks The contradiction which underlined the growing Black liberation movement was in not having Marxist-Leninist leadership, therefore not being able to make a scientific connection between the struggles in Africa and the conditions of the multi-national working class in the United States

The ALSC has gone through the growing pains of the entire Black liberation movement in the U S , struggling from narrow nationalism to trying to become a multi-national organization, and later toward developing a Marxist-Leninist outlook 1976 in particular has shown the struggles of the revolutionary movement taking place in miniature inside the ALSC While the Soviet Union scored its deepest penetration into Africa, most clearly shown in its counter-revolutionary role in inciting a civil war in Angola, establishing its first colony in Africa, the support from the ALSC was led astray This was primarily due to the presence of a conciliationist line in the ALSC which sought to support only one of the liberation movements in Angola because it was the "most revolutionary" This tactic contributed toward splitting the liberation movements in Angola and elsewhere, while ignoring the hegemonic drives of Soviet social-imperialism This conciliation was also manifested in a petty romanticism toward the role of the Cuban mercenary soldiers in Angola

This was further aggravated by the attempts of some Marxist-Leninist elements to transform the ALSC from a mass organization struggling to have multi-national membership, to a cadre organization with the exclusive aim of party building This incorrect line resulted in the turning away of many genuine revolutionary organizations and individuals from working with the ALSC, and in the weakest mobilizations around African liberation support that the ALSC has shown in many years

In the era of imperialism, revolution is the main trend of the world's people This by no means denies the growing danger of world war To prepare mentally and materially against the threat of a new imperialist war and to support our brothers and sisters fighting in Africa against our common enemy, means that we must actively take up the education and mobilization of the masses in the U S Propaganda and agitation linking the national liberation and working class movements internationally must be tied to a fighting organization such as the ALSC which should unite the broad masses of revolutionary and progressive people with the highest form of organization of the masses, the vanguard communist party

The ALSC must consistently expose the role of the two Superpowers U S imperialism in the first place, because we are living in its heartland, and also Soviet social-imperialism, because we are part of the international working class The surest way of waging victorious struggle against the two Superpowers is by uniting the broadest masses of people against them The ALSC is a powerful means to organize our forces

The ALSC must actively seek the support of all types of organizations, including trade unions, community organizations, civil rights groups, revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist organizations In this respect, the building of an organization such as the ALSC is an important training ground for the forming of a united front against the two Superpowers The ALSC serves as a ground upon which principled unity can be built among all progressive and revolutionary strata of the oppressed classes

At the same time, progressive and revolutionary organizations must support such organizations as the ALSC which can unite the broad masses of people in the exploitation and oppression that we all face, and who will join hands with all oppressed people of the world in the battle against U S imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Our greatest proletarian internationalist contribution to the working class world-wide will be the defeat of U S imperialism here at home, and the establishment of socialism ★

A MEETING THAT SEALED REVISIONIST BETRAYAL

From "Zeri i Popullit", organ of Party of Labor of Albania.

July 9, 1976

The meeting of the revisionist parties of Europe, so zealously advertised and so long dragged out, was held in the last days of June in Berlin Now all the revisionist chieftains, both of the East and West, talk and trumpet about the quarrels and misunderstandings among them being cleared up in the capital of the German Democratic Republic and about the bases of a «new and genuine solidarity» being laid

But however crafty in the art of demagogy and hypocrisy, the revisionists cannot sell their Berlin comedy as a parade of achievements The «communique» issued at the end of the meeting, which the specialists of compromises and balanced formulations worked out after two years of toilsome effort, is a document demonstrating in the clearest manner the irreconcilable positions of its signers, the splits and quarrels characterizing modern revisionism

The Berlin meeting was a Soviet initiative Ever since the autumn of 1974 the Soviet revisionists organized a consultative meeting in Warsaw, which was followed two months later by another in Budapest Later on, from the Hungarian capital they moved to East Berlin and created a «work group» for drafting a joint document The Brezhnev clique did its utmost to organize the Berlin meeting immediately following the Helsinki Conference and before the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party But this meeting was held 12 months later than planned and only after six versions of the final document had been drafted

Why was the Soviet revisionist leadership so insistent on organizing the European revisionist meeting by all means? The Soviet leaders were eager to secure the unconditional support of the revisionist forces and get a public and formal approval of their entire internal and external social-imperialist line from them In a period when a grave economic, financial and power crisis was rampant also in the revisionist world when squabbling with US imperialism about zones of influence markets and military bases was being sharpened, the Soviet revisionists were obliged to establish order and discipline in the other revisionist parties, strengthen their shaken hegemony and force them to recognize Moscow's leadership and toe its line

On the other hand, the Soviet revisionist chieftains were in urgent need to present, to Soviet and international public opinion, their expansionist policy, which was coming up against the ever greater and open opposition of the peoples and the struggle of the revolutionary forces, as a policy allegedly in the service of socialism and communism, as a line coordinated and backed up by all the «fraternal countries» and all the «sister parties» After the meeting on the so-called European security in Helsinki, a broad forum of international revisionism would have been a clamorous advertisement for the political career of the secretary general of the revisionist party of the Soviet Union In short, from the European revisionist meeting, which the Kremlin tzars insisted so much on, they wanted to come out with a «certificate of praise» for the superpower policy followed by the Soviet Union In the international field, they wanted to present the Soviet actions aimed at securing zones of influence and expanding towards new areas as «internationalist» and «peaceful»

But the intentions, wishes and hopes of the Soviet revisionists did not fit in with those of the other revisionists

The betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the revisionist parties of the West had led them to close rapprochement to and collaboration with the national bourgeoisie in all fields The so-called communist parties had become the most zealous defenders of the national interests of their bourgeoisie in the international scene, their faithful supporters in the inter-imperialist rivalries and, in the first place, in the squabble with the Soviet imperialism Because of the diplomatic tricks of the Kremlin chieftains which were putting the revisionist parties of the West, that wanted to be independant of the Soviet policy, in an increasingly difficult position, the divergencies and contradictions with Moscow had sharpened

On their part, the revisionist parties of the East, although very zealous in appearance, showed no particular enthusiasm for a Moscow sponsored meeting At a time when they were trying to avail themselves of any opportunity to flirt with the West a Soviet sponsored international «communist forum» would have meant to them a further tightening of screws, and would have given the Soviets another justification to make their clients more submissive and punish the breachers of discipline

In these conditions the Berlin revisionist areopagus assembled The original purpose of the Soviet leaders, who wanted to achieve their centralist aims and submit the European revisionist parties to them — all this backed up by a single political and ideological platform and vertical organizational forms leading to the Kremlin — was not realized They went for wool but came back shorn To avert a scandalous failure of their initiative, the Kremlin chieftains agreed to hold a formal propaganda meeting for saving at least the appearances of a unity that now exists neither in reality nor on paper

The Berlin declaration is a document that proves an unbridgeable gap, a confirmation that in the future, too, each revisionist party is determined to follow in the wake of its particular bourgeoisie, and fight against communism None committed to itself any common policy or joint action Even when someone declared demagogically that he would uphold what was expressed in the «communiqué», everyone knew that nothing would be done in practice It was not for nothing that Berlinguer, the representative of the Italian revisionist party, spoke about the futility of such international documents, and Marchais, the representative of the French revisionist party, added that there was no need of such international meetings either

The joint communique signed in Berlin is indeed original in its kind The viewpoints and lines of each participating party are listed and reflected there Besides the social-imperialist line of the Soviet revisionists and their demands for the other parties to obey Moscow and submit to it, the statements of the revisionists of the West who abandon the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and demand integration into and collaborating with the bourgeoisie, figure also there All sorts of anti-Marxist programs of the so-called «national socialisms» are thrown together there This document confirms and approves of the international policy carried out today by imperialism, social-imperialism and the world capitalism, it is an attempt at justifying the revisionist betrayal, the capitulating policy of the revisionist opportunists in the face of bourgeois reaction, and their anti-socialist and anti-proletarian activity

At their so-called European meeting the revisionist chieftains spoke much about European security, disarmament, democracy and fascism on our continent But what decided the Berlin meeting on all these questions? Nothing It had no word of blame for the US imperialism that is strangling the peoples of Western Europe, that is brutally intervening in their internal affairs and that, with the atomic umbrella, the NATO and the dollar keeps them tied to the policy and interests of the transatlantic monopolies In opposition to the interests of the European peoples, Berlinguer and company tried to justify the integration of their countries into the NATO and to convince the peoples that the aggressive North Atlantic bloc had almost been transformed into a «defender of communism»

On the other hand, even those posing as the champions of freedom from Moscow, did not fail to sing praise to the Soviet Helsinki policy as though it were not the same policy that is oppressing and exploiting the countries of Eastern Europe threatening the Balkans menacing the whole world, intervening in the Middle East and filling the Mediterranean with gun-boats

At the Berlin meeting the revisionist parties acted as their conscience of traitors prompted them, in opposition to the revolution and in conformity with the interests of the bourgeoisie, in opposition to the freedom and independence of the peoples and in the interests of the superpowers They peddled counter-revolution for revolution, the expansion and hegemonism of the superpowers for security, their preparations for war as efforts to strengthen peace With all their idle talk about security and peaceful co-existence, disarmament and collaboration, they intended to demobilize and disarm the masses, to divert them from their revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie and the superpowers

At the Berlin meeting the revisionists spoke also about the crisis This is now a fashionable issue, and each of them sought to advertise his recipe for its democratic solution But these «great defenders of the working people», as they pretend to be considered the present crisis as a natural calamity only, and not as a social phenomenon caused by bourgeois exploitation as an unavoidable offspring of the capitalist system With the stand they took towards the crisis they once more revealed their counter-revolutionary aims Their aims are to lull the working people to sleep, to prevent them from revolting against the capital, to keep them oppressed in capitalist slavery At the Berlin meeting the representatives of these countries kept silent about the crisis in the revisionist countries which is borne out by the recent events in Poland, the constantly rising prices in Yugoslavia and Hungary, the inflation in the Soviet Union as well as widespread unemployment everywhere This is understandable for otherwise they would have had to recognize the reality of their failure publicly

But the present crisis is tearing the mask off the revisionists ever more with each passing day The more it deepens and sharpens, the more evident becomes the fact that the modern revisionists work to salvage the new and old capitalism from all its upheavals, that they are the extinguishers of the revolution Modern revisionism is ever more placing itself in the service of the big bourgeoisie, as the other bourgeois parties, whether socialist or social-democratic have already done

In the history of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by modern revisionism, the Berlin meeting will go down as an infamous gathering at which proletarian internationalism was officially abandoned, with some calling it «voluntary social solidarity» and others presenting is as «mutual solidarity» etc

But everyone understands and interprets this «soldarity», which the revisionists trumpeted as the latest invention of «creative Marxism , as the sole, the purest and the highest form of ensuring «correct relations among the various revisionis parties, according to his own interests Brezhnev wants it to support his hegemonist policy, Berlinguer, Marchais Carillo and others need it in order to be a one with the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state, the others seek to be in good terms with imperialism at the same time but none of them bother about solidarity with the revolution and the people's liberation struggle

But whatever these meanings and interpretations they have nothing in common with proletarian internationalism, they are varieties of bourgeois nationalism Genuine proletarian internationalism can reconcile itself neither to bourgeois nationalism nor social-chauvinism It is an ideology of the proletariat only, and represents its international class unity in struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, the building of socialism, the independence and liberation of the peoples

The issues raised and discussed at the Berlin meeting had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, the revolution It was a meeting which sealed the revisionist betrayal officially Now the revisionist renegades have only the name «communist left which they use demagogically to mask their anti-communist activity, to mislead the members of their parties and the masses of the working people They are not Marxist-Leninists but counter-revolutionaries, traitors to communism

The Soviet revisionists went to this meeting to defend the positions of great-Russian chauvinism Soviet imperialist hegemonism and expansionism The revisionist parties of the West went there to show that they had broken away from the Soviet tutelage and to secure a free hand in the bargainings with their bourgeoisie, so as not to lose their political capital as parties of compromise and class collaboration and win some seats in the bourgeois governments But all of them without exception went there to undermine Marxism-Leninism and revolution, sabotage the people's liberation struggle and combat the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, the defenders of the lofty revolutionary ideals of the proletariat and genuine socialism In this field, as the proceedings of the Berlin meeting proved, they found also a common language

The Party of Labour of Albania, exposing the counter-revolucionary aims of this meeting, had strongly condemned it, predicting that it would be another grave act of revisionist betrayal «The parties which will attend this meeting», comrade Enver Hoxha declared as early as October 1974, «are bound to prove that they are on the road of betrayal, they will become accomplices of the criminal and counter-revolutionary activity of the Soviet revisionist leaders» But, he stressed, «on the other hand, such a plotters' meeting is a success, as the peoples and communists of the world will once more see the true countenance of these parties»

Now the revisionists may receive the praise of the bourgeoisie and reaction for at the Berlin meeting nobody spoke about proletarian revolution and communism nobody mentioned the revolutionary mission of the working class for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie nobody spent a word about Leninism The revisionists will be praised for their readiness to sincerely collaborate with the bourgeoisie and reaction in safeguarding the bourgeois order But at the same time the proletariat and the masses of the working people of the world are also provided with an opportunity to see and understand better that modern revisionism always represents the gravest danger to the cause of communism This will also be an encouragement for all the revolutionaries for all those who fight for socialism and the freedom of the peoples to expose with still greater determination the ideology and plots of the Soviet-led revisionists, to work and fight tirelessly for their complete and final destruction ●

---

another are now cooperating in full social and political equality in the building of a socialist society The workers there have destroyed the capitalist lie of "race hatred" and "race inferiority" Any worker who shows any trace of this capitalist poison is expelled from the factories, as two American engineers only recently learned The Soviet workers have shown the American workers, Negro and white, a glorious example and the true road

And because the Soviet Union points the road to the wiping away of all oppression and "race" lies, the whole ruling class is today preparing a gigantic war against it When the Negro soldiers returned from the last war, they returned to the same old persecution and Jim Crow insult Some Negro soldiers were lynched in their uniforms Today the ruling class is trying to make the Negroes "safe" for the next war American imperialism does not want a dangerous "back door," such as Ireland was for the British Empire in the last war Only the organized efforts of the working class in fighting unity—Negro and white—can defend the Soviet Union and struggle against imperialist war Only this unity can destroy lynching and the system which causes it

The white workers, led to a proper understanding by the Communist Party, are beginning to realize that any attack upon the Negroes, any denial of rights to them, is also an attack upon the white workers, also a denial of the rights of the white workers Militant white workers are actually *taking the lead* in fighting for Negro rights and against lynching

As is shown in the Scottsboro case and in other similar struggles the revolutionary white workers are the first to demand the right of Negro workers to sit on juries, the wiping away of all Jim Crow and segregation lines James W Ford, a Negro worker born in Alabama, whose grandfather was the victim of a lynch mob, is the Communist Party candidate for United States vice-president in the 1932 elections, showing, as on numerous other occasions, that the Party's fight for full economic, social and political equality for the Negro people is one of its most important struggles

Revolutionary white and Negro workers demand the *death penalty for lynchers* They organize white and Negro workers together in the struggle against lynching and for Negro rights They call for defense groups of white and Negro workers to beat off lynch mobs and combat such terrorist organizations as the Klu Klux Klan, the Night Riders, etc Southern white workers, under the leadership of the International Labor Defense, were among the most active in building the defense of the Scottsboro boys

At Bridgeport, Ohio, June 13, 1932, white and Negro workers saved Alex Dorsey, a Negro organizer of the National Miners' Union, from lynching at the hands of a mob led by the organizer of the United Mine Workers, the officials of which, like those of the American Federation of Labor, are supporters of lynch law

While fighting for equal rights for the Negro in all parts of the country, the Communist Party strikes at the very basis of the oppression of the Negro people by demanding and fighting for the right of self determination in the Black Belt of the South, where the Negroes form the majority of the population This is the right of the Negro people in the Black Belt to exercise governmental authority over this land on which they have toiled for years, and the right to separate from the United States government if they so desire Then, and then only will the Negro people have achieved equal rights with all the other peoples of the earth, wiping out, through the militant alliance with the white workers, the abominable national oppression which is part and parcel of the capitalist system

THE INTERNATIONALE

SONG OF THE WORKING CLASS

EUGENE POTTIER
The 160th Anniversary of His Birth

Eugene Pottier was one of the greatest worker poets of all time. Born into a poor family, he remained a poor man until his death, earning his living as a proletarian Pottier, a Frenchman, held high the cause of the oppressed and exploited workers, and devoted his life to liberation He was elected a member of the Paris Commune in 1871 and took part in all the activities of the commune, the first proletarian government in the history of class society

In June, 1871, days after the fall of the Commune, Pottier wrote the immortal INTERNATIONALE As a workingman, Pottier understood the call of the Commune and put it into verse

ARISE YE PRISONERS OF STARVATION
ARISE YE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH,
FOR JUSTICE THUNDERS CONDEMNATION,
A BETTER WORLD'S IN BIRTH.

Today the INTERNATIONALE is sung by workers worldwide to express their solidarity and dedication to the cause which Marx and Engels pioneered

One of the greatest propagandists by song, we remember Eugene Pottier

Arise ye prisoners of starvation Arise ye wretched of the earth
For justice thunders condemnation A better world's in birth
No more tradition's chains shall bind us. Arise ye slaves no more in thrall
The earth shall rise on new foundations We have been nought, we shall be all

'Tis the final conflict
Let each stand in his place
The Internationale shall be the human race

We want no condescending saviours to rule us from their judgment hall
We workers ask not for their favours Let us consult for all
To make the thief disgorge his booty, to free the spirit from its cell
We must ourselves decide our duty, we must decide and do it well

(Repeat Chorus)

The law oppresses us and tricks us The wage slave system drains our blood
The rich are free from obligations The laws the poor delude
Too long we've languished in subjection Equality has other laws
"No rights" says she, "without their duties, no claims on equals

(Repeat Chorus)

Behold them seated in their glory, the kings of mine and rail and soil
What have you read in all their story but how they plundered toil?
Fruits of the workers' toil are buried in strongholds of the idle few
In working for their restitution, the men will only claim their due

(Repeat Chorus)

We toilers from all fields united, join hand in hand with all who work,
The earth belongs to us, the workers No room here for the shirk
How many on our flesh have fattened But if the bloody birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning, the blessed sunlight will stay

'Tis the final conflict
Let each stand in his place
The Internationale shall be the human race

GOOD HEALTH AND LONG LIFE TO ENVER HOXHA

In celebration of the birthday of Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania, October 16, 1908

Enver Hoxha began his work as a communist in France and Belgium in the early 1930's, where he studied the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and the lessons of the international communist movement, especially the great October Socialist Revolution in Russia He held a post in the Albanian consulate in Brussels and during that time, wrote articles against the fascist Zog dictatorship which held state power in Albania His articles, printed in the French communist press, were discovered by Zog's agents and Enver Hoxha was subsequently dismissed from his post

In 1936 Enver Hoxha returned to Albania, a committed communist, devoted to the liberation of his country His work among the communist groups in Albania was directed at uniting them into one party by first defeating the Trotskyist and anarchist elements which had prevented this from happening The turning point in the unity of the communist movement took place in Tirana on October 28, 1941 in a demonstration against the Italian fascists which Enver Hoxha had personally organized The communists from many groups were called upon to defend each other and the masses of local people in the battle with the police and army which ensued Less than ten days later, Enver Hoxha called a conference of representatives of the communist groups which had taken part in the demonstration with the purpose of uniting them for the

first time into one party The Communist Party of Albania was founded on November 8, 1941 This period also signalled the beginning of the Albanian National Liberation Army which successfully defeated both the Italian fascists and the Nazis after them

Through the self-reliance of the socialist economy, and the principled Marxist-Leninist stand of Enver Hoxha at the head of the Party, Albania was able to withstand the economic and political pressures exerted by first Yugoslavia, and later by the Soviet Union after Khrushchov came to power

At the world historic Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, Enver Hoxha courageously denounced the rise of modern revisionism in the USSR, to the international communist and workers movements The USSR attempted to isolate both the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania from the rest of the socialist countries, but Comrade Enver Hoxha resolutely defended the genuine socialist countries and pointed out that the Soviet Union was bent on destroying not only China and Albania, but Marxism-Leninism itself Enver Hoxha proudly stood shoulder to shoulder with Mao Tsetung in resolute struggle against modern revisionism

Even when the Soviet Union cut all economic aid and technical assistance to Albania, the Party of Labor of Albania was able to continually raise the well-being of the Albanian people Under the leadership of the Party, headed by Enver Hoxha, Albania's economy leaped ahead both in agriculture and industry, ensuring a strong and reliable ally of the working class and oppressed masses internationally

On October 16th, Enver Hoxha will be sixty-eight His entire life is a shining example of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Albanian revolution The revolutionary people of the world salute Enver Hoxha's great leadership of the heroic Albanian people and of the international communist movement

GOOD HEALTH AND LONG LIFE
TO ENVER HOXHA!

Now available The pamphlet, IN COMMEMORATION OF MAO TSETUNG, a 36-page commemorative statement from the Central Committee of the MLOC, for $ 50, and photograph on the centerfold of this issue of UNITE!, as a poster (14½" x 22") for $1 50, both from MLOC, P O Box 26457, San Francisco, California 94126.